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SOCIAL FORCES

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A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF REGIONALISM BY EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

THE GROWING SOUTH BY T. J. WOOFER, JR.

PLANNING AND LOW-RENT HOUSING BY DWIGHT P. FLANDERS

THE SEASONAL WORKER AND UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION BENEFITS BY R. CLYDE WHITE

THE NATURE OF NATIONALISM BY FREDERICK HERTZ

SHANGHAI TOMORROW BY BRUNO LASKER

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS THROUGH FIELD COURSE PROCEDURE BY GORDON W. BLACKWELL

PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINAL TYPOLOGY BY A. R. LINDESMITH AND H. WARREN DUNHAM

A SYSTEM OF ATTITUDE EXPERIMENTS BY THOMAS C. MCCORMICK AND ROBERT C. SCHMID

FEDERAL ACTION PROGRAMS AND COMMUNITY ACTION IN THE SOUTH BY W. E. B. DU BOIS

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SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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SOCIAL FORCES

March, 1941

NOTES ON PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF REGIONALISM

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

The New York School of Social Work

MOTIVATIONS WHICH CONTRIBUTE TO THE DESIRE FOR REGIONALISM

THE impulsive or motivational aspects of experience are the consequence of movements towards (*ad*ency) or away from (*abi*ency) objects which are real or imaginary. My first inquiry, therefore, may be stated thus: What are the advocates of regionalism moving away from? Of what are they frightened? My tentative answers to this query will be stated briefly, but I hope with sufficient provocation to assure continuing analysis.

Those who advocate regionalism seem to me to fear *bigness*. The three threatening giants who now stand athwart the American dream are the corporation, the nationalistic and militaristic state, and the official governmental bureaucracy. These are formidable Titans, each powerful enough in its own right to dwarf man's sense of freedom. Those who fear these monsters are at one with Justice Brandeis in believing that bigness is in itself a curse, a threat to human integrity.

Are these fears justified? If justified, in which places should a citizen who believes in justice and freedom look for signs of danger? And, is it reasonable

to regard regionalism as an antidote for these impending perils? I do not assume competence to answer these queries, but I should like to point out at least one of the difficulties which will confront the person who seeks answers. *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (Berle and Means) was published in 1933, and in this significant study the authors insisted that Justice Brandeis, in condemning large corporations, was merely indulging in the futile gesture of turning back the hands on the clock. They, the authors, assumed that large-scale corporations had not yet approached the zenith of their powers and were destined for prodigious expansion. In the meantime, something very important has happened: the corporations remain large but they diminish in power. They seem to have lost control over finance; this power has drifted into the hands of governmental agencies. So far has this tendency already proceeded in our country that it now seems safe to say that the credit machinery of the nation depends more upon government than upon corporate industry. This may mean, of course, that we now have only two instead of three giants to fear, or perhaps only one, namely the giant state. But, it is

extremely hazardous to prophesy in these fitful days: the tempo of historical time seems to have left all normal curves behind and now describes merely rapid and unpredictable alternations in direction.

We fear also the consequences of *standardization*. That which becomes large also tends to decrease the differences between the entities which compose its totality. The official motto of the United States of America is *e pluribus unum*. Literally translated, this means one out of many, or unity through diversity. This constitutes a pluralistic doctrine of the state, but what seems now to be happening throughout the world runs to the contrary: the unity which is created in our time derives from standardization, and should, perhaps, be called uniformity rather than unity. In any case, there appears to be a deep psychological meaning in this modern version of the conflict between the one and the many. The organism seems to yearn for a sense of unity, while the personality requires diversity. Individuals wish to remain individuals and yet feel lost unless associated somehow with something big enough to minimize, if not eliminate, distinctions. The *Volksgemeinschaft* which Adolf Hitler is determined to create in Germany means that Bavarians must no longer think of themselves as differing from Prussians.

The great standardizer is, of course, the Machine which produces uniform commodities. Hence, it is not strange to discover that many regionalists place emphasis upon arts and crafts, especially upon those distinctions in design which characterize a section or a region. The Press and the Radio have become psychological standardizers and likewise elicit fear on the part of those who believe that standardization is a form of decay and death. Does the modern dictator also

belong to this series? Is it a logical expectation that standardized commodities and standardized ideas must ultimately lead to standardized behavior which can function only as a response to the dictator?

Still another negativism which I seem to detect among the promoters of regionalism is the fear of losing organic connection with a cherished *tradition*. There are two meaningful notions which seem to have clung to the concept of tradition, namely the idea of something transmitted through persons by means of shared experience and secondly, the idea of betrayal. As late as 1840, the word tradition was used in connection with the surrender of sacred books in time of persecution. (Those who are semantically inclined may wish to find further meanings in the fact that *trade* means a track or footstep, and that *traduce* means to bring into disgrace.) Residents of the Southern States, for example, are the inheritors of an important tradition. Four distinct incentives are discoverable among the partisans of the South during the war with the North: they were struggling to defend the right of secession, the constitutional right to maintain slavery, the right to protect their economy, and the right to continue their way of life, that is, to perpetuate their basic tradition.

It is no longer fruitful to discuss these issues in terms of "rights" but what is important is the fact that the defeated South was thereupon persecuted. In one sense, the current tendency toward southern regionalism is, I believe, an attempt, not merely to revive the older tradition but rather to breathe new life into its veins. Similarly, one may note the significant role which tradition plays in the apologetics now being written by emigrés from Norway, Finland, Czechoslovakia,

Poland, and Austria. To be bereft of a tradition represents a peculiar kind of loneliness, an intolerable isolation. In small nations, there may be a unitary tradition but in large ones it is inevitable that there will be varieties of tradition just as there are varying topographies and climates. Even now I am engaged in reading a fascinating story of the degradation of a sectional tradition: *New England: Indian Summer*. (Van Wyck Brooks.) Merely to read this volume is to find oneself, one who is not a New Englander, moved to a mood of sadness.

Space allows for the discussion of but one other of the motivational elements involved in regionalism, namely, the fear that for the want of a regional idealism certain sections of the country will be drained of their better *human stock*. Where there exists a strong regional feeling, there will be found also a resilient family solidarity. Where there is family solidarity, there will be found also a powerful resistance to mobility. And where mobility is resisted there will be a greater attachment to the soil, to locale. On the contrary, where sectional feeling is low, family attachments become more tenuous and emigrations more frequent. Migration appears to follow two rules: those who leave may be unusually ambitious, or they may have lost hope; they go because they have everything to gain, or nothing to lose. The fear of which I am now speaking is, however, attached to the former, those who leave their habitat because they see a brighter prospect for their talents elsewhere. I trust that I may be permitted one further reference to the Southern Region, one which may seem trivial but which, nevertheless, illustrates my point. Nostalgic songs about the South appear to concentrate their emotional appeal upon endearing factors in experience which are un-

recoverable because one has wilfully left them behind. It is as if the singer were saying: "My sentiment belongs to the South but necessity keeps me in the North." Hidden beneath the surface of these sentimentalities lies a clear indication of inferiority, a premonition of cultural disintegration.

A VALID REGIONAL MOVEMENT CAN ARISE
ONLY WHEN NEGATIVE MOTIVATIONS
ARE TRANSPOSED INTO POSITIVES

Fear, like all other emotions, possesses ambivalent qualities. We fear bigness, sameness, detachment, and decadence. If, now, we begin to examine the antitheses, the ambivalents of these feelings, a language problem appears. We may begin by stating that courage is the antithesis of fear, but this statement carries no behavioristic meaning: one cannot at will exchange courage for fear. Nor does it make sense to say that those who fear bigness should henceforth develop an affection for smallness. Unhappily, most of our "quality" words (good, bad; big, little; high, low; ugly, beautiful) exist in polarized pairs, a circumstance which probably accounts in large measure for the persistency of our faulty logic and our erratic human relations. If we are to make useful discriminations, especially in terms of those feeling-tones which play so important a part in our actions, we must free ourselves from word-bondage. After all, we invented the words and hence it seems reasonable that they should perform operations consonant with our needs.

The antithesis of bigness is not smallness; this lesson we should have long since learned from our experiences with anti-trust legislation. If the fear of bigness is to be transposed into a positive incentive, we must look to conduct and experience, and not to etymology, for guidance. Big

things become objects of fear only when the component units lose significance. The "Little Man" needs a "Big State" because he has already lost a sense of his personal importance. He will discover in due course that the giant state offers him nothing more than a sublimation for his desire for personal dignity. To feel important is to feel that one is needed and to be needed implies participation. Bigness will destroy democracy, not because of its bigness, but because individuals have receded as participant units. In other words, the fear of bigness can only be dissipated by the accumulating courage which comes from participation. When the individual counts for something he can make big things serve his ends. Democracy would have long since disappeared in industrial nations, for example, had it not been for the rise and strength of trade unions. What the machine takes away from the worker he may regain by participating in the labor movement.

Is regionalism a positive response to the dangers of bigness? Obviously, yes, since regionalism implies a wider and more functional participation. The citizen who feels himself to be important only in relation to his local community may become a narrow provincialist, but if he also contributes to the self-conscious growth of his region, his stature will increase; his perspective will expand. Whether or not this result will come from a regional development in the United States depends upon the planning methods employed, and I shall have more to say of this later.

The antithesis for standardization is not formless diversity. A relationship exists between a standard and a design. All standards originate in designs, that is, in creative acts. It is clear that what is here required is a series of sharper dis-

criminations. Standardization may, but need not of necessity, become the enemy of freedom.

I see no deficit, for example, in the fact that standardized gas ranges are used in the homes of residents of Texas, North Carolina, California, and Minnesota. What would alarm me, however, would be the discovery that the houses themselves in all these communities were standardized and that all the people therein were eating standardized meals. At that point I should begin to fear that democracy would destroy itself by means of its own mediocrity.

So long as the sense of freedom persists, the people are capable of inventing their own antidotes for standardizing influences. I was much more concerned, by way of illustration, over the standardized and centralized press and radio before I learned that the people did not believe what they heard and read. Of course, the time may come when a penalty will be attached to such disbelief but, happily, we still enjoy a season of grace.

Modern, streamlined efficiency experts seem to believe that man is capable of enjoying life without attachment to a tradition. Somehow, the notion of something dead or at least dying seems now to be associated with the idea of a tradition. The exact opposite seems to me nearer the truth: a man who lives without conscious participation in a tradition is already dead. At least he exists in a cultural vacuum. But, once more, discriminations are required. Every culture appears to produce at least two traditions, one which emanates from the folk and one from the elite, one high and one low, one definitely connected with democratic striving and one headed towards aristocracy and privilege. Enthusiasts for regional developments are at this point brought to a test. On behalf of which

tradition do they claim loyalty? From which tradition do they expect regionalism to receive its nourishment? The Southern Region, which is the principal object of our attention at present, is, in this connection, confronted with a grave situation. Its living tradition is without doubt democratic in essence, but its role in national affairs is now haunted by its all too-numerous antidemocratic survivals. The poll tax, for example, is an excellent device for short-circuiting the will of the people, for keeping the progressive aspirations of the folk in check.

The scholars of the South bear a peculiar relation to the basic tradition of this region, and it is fitting that we should pay tribute at this point to the University of North Carolina. This seat of learning has specifically associated itself with the needs of the people, obeying that famous injunction of Thomas Huxley's which reminded us that the universities are, or should be, the fortresses of the higher life of the people. How else may the genuine tradition of the South be revived save through the ministration of critical intelligence? I foresee the time when the state universities will present curricula to their students conceived in terms of regional categories. And, why not, since it is the labor of the people of the region which furnishes the universities with sustenance?

The term "regional categories" utilized above includes items such as topography, climate, population, agricultural and industrial economy, architecture and the arts, speech, leisure, and folklore. These are all interrelated units in a composite which may be called culture. Obviously, the most important ingredient of culture is the person, the living entity in which culture subsists and from whose energies it is derived. If, as some regionalists

fear, those persons in whom a culture is most likely to become expressive, depart from the region in their youth, is it not inevitable that the culture itself should wither and die?

Once more we are confronted with a language difficulty. The antithesis of mobility is not statics. Regionalists are not concerned with tasks of confinement; it is not their aim to build "Chinese" walls around an area and thereby prevent escape. Nor is it their desire to hold the young by means of exhortations and persuasions. Indeed, a sound regional policy will not begin by asking young people to assume responsibility and loyalty toward a sectional tradition; on the contrary, youth will first be asked to participate in some active project. Regional leaders will know that genuine loyalty comes from action, not from contemplation. Loyalty is a sentiment; therefore, it cannot be derived from sentimentality. It is a sentiment attached to a purpose. Healthy young people will always run away from inactivity, as, of course, they should. Hence, it is probably incorrect to say that regionalists fear mobility: what they really fear is the cause of mobility, especially that variety which permits young people to detach themselves readily from their cultural roots. Movement in space is not a cultural threat unless it is accompanied by disrespect for one's locality. In turn, respect for a place, as distinguished from mere sentimentality, is the possession of those who live progressively on behalf of its interests. What youth wants, now as always, is a challenge to such use of its energies.

REGIONALISM: A SOURCE OF INCENTIVE FOR DEMOCRATIC RECONSTRUCTION

The function of an intellectual framework is to allow new work to be per-

formed. Reference backward, when it is something more than a form of intellectual "sickness," is always for the purpose of moving forward. It seems to me certain that we shall not have constructed the proper framework for regionalism unless it shows us how to go forward in democratic fashion. Regionalism, like all other forms of planning, may be easily oriented within the framework of an authoritative, totalitarian, nondemocratic society. To think of a region brought to self-consciousness and to action is at the same time to think of the emergence of new authority. How is this new authority to be generated, and where is it to be lodged?

There are some who believe that the two concepts, planning and democracy, are mutually exclusive. Recent events in the world seem to substantiate this viewpoint, since large scale planning has thus far succeeded only in states ruled by dictators. It is natural, therefore, to assume that two movements which are observed in association enjoy by that token a necessary affinity. This is a natural, but not a critical assumption. It seems to me more logical to assume that dictatorships find it easier to employ planning techniques, or that democracies find it much more difficult to do so. I am prepared to admit that a society ruled by a dictator is able to achieve planning more quickly and even that it may attain extraordinary efficiency in the initial stages. But I also feel certain that the essential deficits of totalitarian planning will ultimately lead to diminishing efficiency. The first and foremost of these deficits is the fact that totalitarian planning must, perforce, include non-humanistic tendencies. Genuine participation cannot be achieved by means of the command-and-obedience formula. Those who only obey will eventually lose even the sense of freedom, and those who

completely abandon the sense of freedom become less than human. Consequently, it is my firm conviction that democratic planning is more likely to become permanent precisely because it is more difficult to achieve.

Regionalism, it appears to me, represents an attempt to revamp the democratic process in such manner as to make it more compatible with the requirements of a continental nation. Indeed, I see no other way for accomplishing this end. What needs to be done in this country, for example, in terms of both our natural and human resources cannot be done efficiently through the instrumentality of our arbitrarily-determined political subdivisions. Natural and historical regions do exist, however, and may be utilized for these purposes.

Although I am deeply attached to the democratic conception of life, I am compelled to admit that it, too, has its peculiar dangers. The danger of a dictatorship is that it may achieve external success at the expense of human values. The danger of a democracy is that it may, for want of active participation on the part of the citizens, drift toward bureaucracy. So far as I know, there is but one antidote for the disease of bureaucracy, namely, education on behalf of participant citizenship. But, this phrase is not to be interpreted as meaning additional courses offered in educational institutions dealing with the duties of the citizen or the glories of democracy. What is required is a chance to labor democratically on behalf of human needs. My plea to regionalists is to furnish us with actual enterprises, outlines of projects, which are within the range of our capacities and yet compel us to test our ideals. Education with this end in view may be so conceived as to include the wisest technician and the humblest citizen.

SOME PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINAL TYPOLOGY

A. R. LINDESMITH

Indiana University

AND

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Wayne University

ONE of the difficult problems which has faced criminologists has been that of giving precise meaning to the term "criminal." For practical purposes the criminal has been defined as one who violates the criminal law, but because laws change and multiply in the course of time, and vary from one locality to another, and are sometimes arbitrary, the legal definition has not provided a satisfactory category for purposes of scientific analysis. The recent inclusion of the white collar criminal in the field of criminology has emphasized the difficulty by making more extensive the meaning of a word which was already very extensive.¹ One way of avoiding the difficulties in the too comprehensive meaning attached to the word "criminal" is to classify law violators, in general, into subtypes. Such a classification, if carried out according to consistent principles provides the possibility of concentrating attention upon problems of limited scope and of dealing with manageable groups presenting relatively homogeneous behavior. As now used, the term "criminal" refers to such heterogeneous behavior that the possibility of constructing theories of crime causation, excepting in extremely general terms, is excluded. It is, therefore, necessary to develop some consistent general principle for the classification of criminals into homogeneous subgroups.

¹ E. H. Sutherland, "White Collar Criminality," *American Sociological Review*, 5, pp. 1-12, (February, 1940).

The difficulties involved in an attempt to classify all law violators into a fixed number of rigid and mutually exclusive categories is, of course, very great, particularly in as complex a society as ours with its multiplicity of changing laws.² There are numerous and transitional types, and very often essential information about the law violator which is necessary for the purpose of classification is lacking. Also, it is to be expected that many personalities will reflect the disunity of our culture by displaying conflicting behavior tendencies. However, it is not the purpose of this article to propose a final airtight system of classification but rather to discuss some of the basic principles underlying classification and to sketch the tentative outlines of a broad classificatory scheme. It is from reflection on matters of this kind that the framework, within which criminological research will assume a systematic character, will emerge.

Most past attempts to classify criminals take their cue from the kind of scheme proposed by Lombroso, who divided them into the following five classes: the born criminal, the insane criminal, the criminal by passion, the habitual criminal, and the occasional criminal.³ Ferri's scheme was similar.⁴ Garofalo, another member

² See Roscoe Pound, *Criminal Justice in America* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930).

³ *Crime—Its Causes and Remedies*, trans. by H. P. Horton (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1912), pp. 412-33.

⁴ *Criminal Sociology*, trans. by J. T. Kelley and John Lisle (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1916), p. 139.

of the Lombrosian school, classified them as murderers (all altruism lacking), violent criminals, criminals lacking in probity, and lascivious criminals.⁵ Parmelee gives an excellent criticism of these systems and then gives his own which is much like them.⁶ These attempts may be taken as representative of other efforts to develop some adequate system for classifying criminals. The chief difficulty with these classifications is the absence of any principle guiding them and usually there is no analysis of the classification in terms of the theoretical base upon which it is supposed to depend. As a matter of fact, these schemes are largely either empirical in character or based upon conventional legal categories, as, for example, the current notions of the "defective delinquent," the first offender, and the recidivist. Sometimes, categories are established upon the basis of theories which have been discarded. Thus, Lombroso had as one type the "born criminal", and later writers spoke of the "instinctive criminal." In general, no classification of this general type has proved to be particularly valuable as a research instrument.⁷

Another approach to the problem of classification of criminals which, in our opinion, has not been sufficiently elaborated or given the attention that it deserves, is represented in such schemes as those proposed by Mayhew and Moreau.⁸ May-

hew, on the basis of extensive knowledge of criminals, divided them into two main categories, the "professional," who indulges in dishonest practices as a means of livelihood, and "casual," who is dishonest from some accidental cause. Moreau in a similar manner suggested three types, "the accidental," the "habitual," and the "professional." The accidental was thought of as a person who under the pressure of unusual circumstances commits a crime which he is unlikely to repeat and which is not in harmony with his general character. The habitual criminal repeatedly yields to the influence of circumstances and, so to speak, forms a habit of so doing. In this class would be included the man who repeatedly loses his temper and commits acts of violence at such times and the man who commits a crime when intoxicated. The professional criminal, on the other hand, deliberately commits himself to a life of crime and develops a philosophy of crime. The crimes of these three types are different and involve differential risks. Crimes against the person appear in classes one and two but are proportionately insignificant in class three where the crime is ordinarily committed for economic gain. The accidental criminal is easily apprehended and sentenced for his offenses. The habitual likewise is rather easily apprehended, but the professional by virtue of the very fact that he is a professional is difficult to catch and convict.

The principle implicit in the schemes of Mayhew and Moreau is that, since crime is a social phenomenon, criminals must be classified in accordance with their social orientation and in accordance with the values and cultural definitions in the social world in which they live. This principle is already implicitly recognized by the general public and definitely

⁵ *Criminology*, trans. by R. W. Millar (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1914), pp. 11-132.

⁶ *Criminology* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918).

⁷ For a devastating criticism of the influence of Lombroso in criminology, see A. R. Lindesmith and Yale Levin, "The Lombrosian Myth in Criminology," *The American Journal of Sociology* (March, 1937), XLII, 653-671.

⁸ H. Mayhew and J. Binney, *The Criminal Prisons of London* (London: Charles Griffin and Co., 1862), p. 87; G. Moreau, *Souvenirs de la Petite et de la Grande Roquette*, new ed. (Paris: H. Viven, 1888), pp. 1-2.

taken account of in the law when we refuse to hold an insane person responsible for his criminal acts, or when we give juvenile delinquents special treatment in the courts because they "do not understand right and wrong" or because they "do not understand the criminal character of their acts." This means that persons who, either because of youth or of mental disturbances, have not incorporated certain mores into their personalities are not held responsible for acts with reference to these mores. Responsibility, therefore, depends upon socialization.⁹

In accordance with the principle that criminals should be grouped according to the degree and manner in which their crimes are related to or spring from cultural definitions, they may be thought of in terms of polar points of reference. At one end of this polarity there is a general category which we will call "the social criminal." The crimes of this type are supported and prescribed by a culture, and the person committing such crimes achieves status and recognition within a certain minority group by skillfully and daringly carrying out the criminal activity which, in that group, is customary and definitely designated. This type of criminal acts in close collaboration with other persons without whose direct or indirect cooperation his career would be virtually impossible. By means which are generally regarded as illegitimate he seeks ends which are socially accepted in the broader cultural milieu. Thus, the thief steals for economic gain and security.

At the opposite pole there is another general category which we may designate as the "individualized criminal." His crimes are not prescribed forms of be-

havior in his cultural milieu nor does he gain prestige or recognition in his social world by committing them. They are committed for diverse ends which are personal and private rather than common and socially accepted. That is why the layman finds it difficult to understand the kleptomaniac, and consequently why it is almost impossible to take account of this type in the legal framework of society. The crimes of the "individualized criminal" are, in short, not supported by a culture which prescribes them. Neither do they take on the character of an occupation with developed techniques and devices for evading conviction. The "individualized criminal" commits his crimes alone, and, ideally conceived, is a stranger to others who commit similar crimes.

The clearest example of the first polar type described is obviously the professional criminal who pursues crime, deliberately and voluntarily, as an occupation which he shares with other persons. Criminal techniques are developed and handed down from one generation to the next, a special language or argot develops out of the common social life in which these persons are implicated, and a definite criminal philosophy tends to emerge. There is a similar specialization, organization, and a division of labor as seen in the economic life of the larger society.¹⁰

The "individualized criminal" is epitomized by the criminal insane. The crime of such a person is essentially accidental and symptomatic of an underlying physiological or personality disturbance

¹⁰ See E. H. Sutherland (Ed.), *The Professional Thief* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937); also Victor F. Nelson, *Prison Days and Nights* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1933). There is a very extensive literature describing professional crime in its various aspects.

⁹ See P. Fauconnet, *La Responsabilité* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1926).

and has no current rational meaning except as a symptom of the mental derangement. Whereas there is no question about the responsibility of the professional criminal for his crimes, there is no question about the lack of responsibility of the insane person provided the mental disease is unequivocal. In this sense the insane person is incapable of crime, sometimes probably because the "sense of right and wrong" which depends upon the mores of a group is not there by reason of the fact that the insane man is, in large part, isolated from other men and has not sufficiently experienced normal group life, and sometimes probably because the mentally deranged person, while he intellectually recognizes "right from wrong," is unable to control his behavior. His crime may be similar to the crimes of others but this uniformity is not culturally imposed as in the case of the professional criminal.

It thus seems that the criminal insane is criminal only in the formal sense that he has committed an act ordinarily regarded as criminal. Actually there are so few points of similarity between this type and the professional criminal that the two must be regarded as categorically different phenomena arising from different types of causes. In so far as a man is insane he cannot be criminal in the professional sense and in so far as he is criminal he cannot be insane. Crime and insanity are incompatible contrasting phenomena. Insanity is not a cause of crime but rather provides immunity to crime.¹¹

In order to satisfactorily clarify the typological principles which we are sug-

gesting it is necessary to distinguish between vice and crime. August Vollmer, a police administrator, without specifically defining vice includes within it prostitution, gambling, and illegal sale and/or use of liquor and narcotics.¹² To this list there might be added homosexuality, adultery, fornication with consent, and perhaps some other sex offenses. Vollmer bases his distinction on the grounds that vice involves questions of private morality rather than of criminality and that penal sanctions cannot control it. The attempt to suppress vice leads, according to him, to corruption and demoralization of police and officials, and usually to the perpetuation of the vice in underground ways and through the payment of protection money. The difficulty in attempting to use the police force to suppress these activities, says Vollmer, is that public sentiment is by no means united in regarding them as serious and eradicable evils. There is, therefore, reasonable grounds for asserting that, even though some forms of vice are treated as crimes in our legal codes, we should not confuse vice with crime nor discuss the vice law violator in the same terms as we do the criminal. We feel that if future thinking can more adequately clarify the conditions under which this distinction between vice and crime can be established, a firmer foundation will be laid for criminological research to assume a more systematic character.

Between the polarity which we have described there are a number of other types leaning in the direction of one pole or the other. The individualized type

¹¹ For the classic elaboration of this idea see H. Joly, *Le Crime* (Paris; 1888); H. Warren Dunham, in "The Schizophrenic and Criminal Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, 4, (June, 1939), has shown the negative relation between crime and certain types of mental disorder.

¹² *The Police and Modern Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), pp. 81-118. The catering to the public demand for certain "vice" commodities often represents a focal point for the organization of certain kinds of professional crime in a community. See John Landesco, "Organized Crime in Chicago," *Illinois Crime Survey*, Part III (1929).

is represented by the man who under the influence of alcohol commits a crime which is quite out of line with his usual character. Other similar instances are: the crime of passion (as, for example, the husband's killing of his wife's lover), the commission of theft under the stress of dire economic need by an individual who is not otherwise inclined toward theft,¹³ and other crimes produced by crisis situations. The characteristics of criminal behavior of this general category are, that it has an accidental character in the sense that the acts committed do not represent the settled character of the individual who commits them, and that the criminal act is not a prescribed form of behavior in the social world of the guilty person. Criminals of this type do not form groups made up of persons who are inclined toward the same crimes but are rather found scattered throughout respectable society, though more frequently in certain classes than in others. It may be said of this sort of behavior that it involves criminality to a slight degree. It is the kind of behavior that any respectable person might conceivably commit under the pressure of circumstances. Although this behavior is not definitely prescribed by the mores it may and usually is encouraged or facilitated by prevailing ideas of conduct. Thus, in a country where honor killings are numerous, people in general do not believe in murder but they do hold ideas concerning certain situations which makes murder an understandable, excusable, and even probable outcome in certain cases.¹⁴

There are other types of criminal ac-

tivity which more nearly resemble those of the professional and which consequently lean in the direction of the opposite pole. These are represented by political crime, white collar crime, some juvenile delinquency, and what we may call "habitual crime" of certain kinds. The political criminal frequently belongs to a group in which criminal behavior is required, as for example, when a terrorist organization assigns an assassination by lot to one of its members. Unlike the case of the professional criminal, however, the political criminal does not accept the general public definition of his act as criminal, but regards it as meritorious and justified by the ends which it subserves. The crime is also usually not committed for gain but rather involves self-sacrifice for the sake of ideals or for the sake of political reconstruction which is regarded as desirable. These political criminals, actual and potential, become public heroes or martyrs if the revolution succeeds. They are not simply predatory.

The white collar criminal, so-called, is both similar to and different from the professional, although the differences are more marked than the similarities. He is similar in the sense that he has to learn through contact with his business associates and others the ways for violating the law with a minimum of risk. He is different by reason of the fact that his crimes are usually furtive and secret, and while the financial gain obtained may give him prestige in the respectable society in which he moves or seeks to move, his crimes as such, when discovered lead to disgrace. The criminal activity in which he indulges may also be practiced by others in the same occupation and be officially winked at, but it is not a prescribed or required form of behavior and the group is not definitely organized around it. Bankers are not required to

¹³ T. Sellin, *Crime and Cultural Conflict* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938), Bulletin 41.

¹⁴ See, for example, Rupert B. Vance and Waller Wynne, Jr., "Folk Rationalizations in the 'Unwritten Law,'" *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (January 1934), pp. 483-492.

become embezzlers and they are, in fact, expected not to, but, no doubt, there are a number of aspects of the profession which make it relatively easy for them to succumb. Embezzling is usually not a career nor are embezzlers united in a single social group. It has often been noted that they do not "belong to what is ordinarily called 'the criminal classes'."

In the case of criminals of the white collar and the political variety the criminal intent of the act is frequently very much in doubt precisely because of the particular grounds from which these acts proceed and also because the persons involved belong to the respectable classes of society. Because these acts do not have a definite supporting culture which is definitely and self-consciously predatory their criminality is often in doubt. Samuel Insull has been spoken of as a white collar criminal, but he was found innocent by a jury.

We should again like to emphasize that while from the legal point of view all of these persons are law violators, from the sociological viewpoint they constitute divergent and probably essentially dissimilar types. Their attitudes toward their crimes, the public interpretation of their acts, the various means which they employ, and their class affiliations separate them sharply and radically from professional criminals. The ways in which they become involved in crime, or in other words the causation of their behavior, is also probably different, though there may be some general points of resemblance.

Another type of crime which should be mentioned is what we will call "habitual." It does not constitute a very sharp category and is often simply incipient professional crime. We are thinking here of the type of crime that flourishes in slums and of much juvenile delin-

quency. In contrast to the accidental type of crime, which we first discussed, the crimes committed here are more or less in harmony with the habitual character of the persons guilty of them. These persons live in areas characterized by poverty, crowding, low rents, prevalence of vice, drinking, irregular sex activity, and violence. In contrast to the crime of the respectable business man with too many cocktails under his belt, the drunkard of the slum is often of the type who is constantly in trouble and in his cups. His crime reflects the lack of constructive influences and the chaos of his social environment. Persons reared in such a community may become professional if they are thrown into direct contact with the positive criminal culture of the professional, they may reform if they come into contact with the standards of outside respectable society, or they may simply continue a slap-dash, irresponsible, indigent, derelict existence. While the slum is primarily instrumental in producing the "habitual" type, it, by no means, tells the whole story of the professional criminal. Many rural or small town slums have almost no connection with professional crime and many professional criminals are not recruited from either small town, rural or city slums. Slum conditions alone do not produce serious or professional crime. What is required in addition, as Sutherland has indicated, is the positive influence of the presence of an already developed criminal culture and an active criminal class.

In terms of the classification proposed a number of general observations may be made concerning the significance of the various types. Individualized criminals do not constitute social groups and they are therefore extremely heterogeneous in character. The principal methodological

implication of this category in our classification is that the study of the types of behavior included under it must proceed in a different manner from the study of professional crime, since the entire cultural orientation is different.

The social criminal and the related types considered constitute a number of relatively homogeneous groups because of the fact that the cultures which support their criminal activity impose certain uniformities upon them. The student of culture would probably therefore find the search for "behavior systems" of a definable and delimitable character most fruitful at this pole. The interpretations of Tannenbaum and Sutherland in fact already imply some such division as suggested.¹⁵

In terms of general social significance the social criminal is most important in the sense that the overwhelming proportion of felonies committed are violations of property rights and are either professional in character or closely related. Vollmer regards professional crime as the main consideration of the police.¹⁶ It is with respect to the professional also that there is the greatest difficulty in apprehension and conviction. The emphasis placed upon the study of abnormal criminal types by some schools of thought is a mistake in the sense that it places the emphasis upon an exceedingly small minority of law breakers.¹⁷ The social

criminal is definitely an urban type since it is only in the city that full fledged criminal cultures can flourish. The individualized criminal, on the other hand, is neither an urban or rural type. He is disproportionately represented in prison because he is easily caught and convicted. Individualized crime is an index of disorganization within respectable society, whereas professional crime represents the existence of a culture within a culture and is not so much disorganization as organization for ends which are socially approved in the larger society¹⁸ but by means which are not socially approved.

The research problem suggested by the above classification is that of breaking up the general category, law violator, into a number of homogeneous types which are homogeneous according to a consistent and significant principle. We have already indicated that the principle suggested correlates with the postulations of responsibility and of criminal intent. Cultural influences, no doubt, are at work in reference to all criminal types which have been described, but the research worker must determine the different kinds and degrees of cultural influences, and the specific character of these influences in the production of the various types. In the literature on crime, sociologists have traditionally concerned themselves mainly with the "social criminal" and psychiatrists with the "individualized criminal," but neither group of specialists has been altogether clear about this fact and each has attempted to appropriate to himself the entire field and to extend to all types the theories evolved with respect to one. Such procedure ignores

¹⁵ Sutherland, in the latest edition of his *Principles of Criminology*, restricts his theory of differential association to what he calls "systematic criminal behavior." Tannenbaum in *Crime and the Community* (New York: Ginn and Co., 1938), definitely insists that his theories do not apply except to crime of the professional variety.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

¹⁷ See for example Franz Alexander and William Healy, *The Roots of Crime* (London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1935). It is rather significant to note that of seven cases studied not one represented a real professional criminal.

¹⁸ In this connection it is interesting to recall the aura of respectability which surrounded the funerals of prominent "gangsters" during the prohibition era. See John Landesco, *op. cit.*, pp. 1025-1039.

the possibility, which seems very strong, that the term "criminal" refers to many different kinds of individuals whose behavior may have developed in totally different ways. The attempt to develop unitary theories of crime causation in

general may be futile, as Reckless¹⁹ suggests, but the attempt to develop similar theories for restricted portions of the total crime problem may not be.

¹⁹ See his *Criminal Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940), pp. 1-7

SHANGHAI TOMORROW

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I

SHANGHAI has often been discussed as a city without a past. Today it may seem to have no future. But cities neither rise nor disappear in a day. It may be questioned whether the boroughs created by a Heinrich IV or the *novostroiki* built by a Stalin really are cities in a proper sense of the word. Such towns, when they survive, achieve cityhood later, through the logic of their internal development and their services to a much larger area than that which they enclose. A city is the fixed abode of most of those who inhabit it, and its first function is to provide for their safety and the orderly conduct of their affairs. But it remains an armed camp if it does not include also the concentration of economic, administrative, and cultural functions for an area extending at least over a radius equivalent to a convenient day's journey.

Some great commercial cities have outlived their zenith. But Venice and Bruges and Luebeck survive. Cities have sometimes fallen from their glory to lie fallow, as it were, for generations, yet have assumed new importance in changed circumstances, each on a somewhat different basis of international economic signifi-

cance from that of its former height. In our time, new forms of communication and transport affect the status of great seaports as centers of foreign commerce and finance; but by their very existence these cities have become the nuclei of industries and services for their hinterlands and can long survive as such even if smaller ports with few natural advantages should become strong competitors because of their strategic situation, or if a greatly increased aviation should deprive them of much of their international importance as terminals of travel. Thus, Hamburg and Boston and Liverpool are evolving into centers of industry, even though they enjoy no special advantages other than the historically conditioned size of their populations and of their economic institutions.

To emphasize the point: whatever else a city may be, it is always a point of concentration for the activities of a large surrounding area. When cities were "founded" in older times, it was either by incorporating an existing town with established functions, or by the choice of a site that provided for the needed concentration of functions previously distributed over a number of smaller centers. Most cities are expanded market towns that first attracted visitors from afar at

certain times of the year. Others have arisen to provide shelter for pilgrims coming to visit a religious shrine; yet others to shelter previously scattered organs of administration.

The International Settlement of Shanghai grew up around a few foreign warehouses conveniently situated at the mouth of the Yangtze to serve the great valley of that river as a foreign outlet; but its continued existence as a part of Greater Shanghai is not conditioned exclusively by the ability of the foreign houses to remain in business.

Great cities tend to be centers of political control. As they grow in wealth and power, they come to overshadow the more ancient seats of government; and even when these remain the administrative centers of national government, "the city" exercises essential controls through a variety of unofficial channels, or so weakens the central government as to deprive it of an effective exercise of functions which, theoretically, belong to government but are now in part exercised through banks and other non-political agencies. In this sense, practically all the large port cities, which are not also seats of national government, are parasites upon the healthy growth of the state. This is, of course, even more true where, under colonial and semi-colonial regimes, the port city is an organ of foreign exploitation. Yet even in these circumstances new influences making for national strength may spring out of the cosmopolitan seaboard city. The relative safety and opportunities of cultural advance offered by the large city may contribute toward the growth of national spirit, often stemming a process of cultural and political decline that had set in even before the encroachment of foreign imperialistic forces. This certainly has been true in China, whose national revival in

recent decades would be unthinkable without the impetus to progressive thinking afforded by the foreign settlements and concessions, parasitical though, in the main, these may be judged to have been.

There is a tendency to over-emphasize the international political aspects of Shanghai. Foreign control is likely to obscure the significant rôle being played by this treaty port in the *internal* drama of present-day China. In the long run, perhaps, the most significant change in the forces underlying political issues in Shanghai is the increasing participation of a growing community of Chinese in the foreign way of life. This westernizing tendency may be observed, for example, in occupational habits, whether those of the business man or factory worker, in economic and social organization, in political ideas, in domestic arrangements, and in standards of food, clothing, housing, and recreation.¹

The belief that social life in the Yangtze Delta, either under Chinese national control or under pressure from Japan, will revert to an old-time Oriental level, disregards the trend and examples of cultural history.

II

Assuming, then, that Shanghai, in spite of the present disruption of its normal functions, has certain elements of permanence as a community, we may briefly examine some of the essential conditions of its reconstruction. These are largely independent of the exact nature which the government of the city may assume after the end of the present war and the degree to which control will pass out of the hands which now hold it. They reside largely in the organic needs of an urban community, and can neither be removed nor set aside by arbitrary decisions.

One condition is that the problems and tasks of city government be envisaged in

¹ William W. Lockwood, Jr., "The International Settlement at Shanghai," *American Political Science Review*, XXVIII (December, 1934), p. 1030.

relation to the needs of the community itself and not only to those of larger political entities, whether the nation or the powers enjoying special privileges by right of conquest. Insofar as the government of Shanghai is divided into separate political units (the International Settlement, the French Concession, and Chinese Shanghai) it may be said that it has not as yet achieved real cityhood at all. It has certain resemblances to a metropolitan area, but it is not a metropolis. Furthermore the problem of creating an effective independent administration for part of that area, without regard to the organic cohesion of the whole, is insoluble. A modern city government cannot function without waste if its activities are limited to only a part of the closely built-up urban area that constitutes the setting of a single though large and heterogeneous community.

This does not mean that a modern city must necessarily have a completely unified political control over the whole metropolitan area. Municipal reformers not so long ago held that such control over all the area vitally affected by a city's economic life is essential to a proper administration of its services. This view is no longer so widely held, chiefly because it has been falsified by the success with which other arrangements have in recent times ensured efficiency and progress in the case of many of the world's leading metropolitan areas, including Greater New York and Greater London. It is possible to distinguish between services that must be centralized for efficiency (main arteries of communication), and services that can be separately administered without damage to the metropolitan community at large (water or electric power supply). Over many large metropolitan areas spreads a network of controls, partly vested in separate units of

government, partly in the state government, partly in common metropolitan administrative agencies and joint boards that exercise specific functions either in the area as a whole or in overlapping sections of it. Such a set-up may not be ideal in either theory or practice; but it works and often is preferable to a unified political control that could be achieved only by dictatorship and an avoidable disregard of historically important local differences.

The fact, therefore, that an entirely unified political control over the whole area which now comprises Greater Shanghai and the rural and suburban surroundings which interact with its economic life is highly improbable for the near future, does not exclude the possibility of evolving a fairly efficient system of city government in which national, local, and even international agencies may have a part. The real difficulty, for Shanghai, is not the distribution of administrative control over several political bodies but the lack of precision in the demarcation of their respective powers, and the lack of energy with which thus far some of these bodies have exercised the powers which unquestionably are theirs. Indecision has marked not only the extent to which at various times the National Government of China has asserted its claims to final authority—declaring the International Settlement and the French Concession to be merely "special areas" for limited purposes of administration—but also the attitude of the two foreign civic authorities toward the limits of their respective powers.

As Justice Feetham has pointed out, the constitution of the International Settlement is practically the same now as in 1866, when it occupied less than one-third of its present area and had a population of

only 2,200 foreigners and 90,000 Chinese.² Because of the difficulty of securing amendments, the actual machinery of the municipal government has not only remained inadequate to the many needs of a modern city but has at times forced the Council to interpret its powers in ways clearly at variance with the interpretations placed by the Chinese Government upon the rights of the foreign governments on whose behalf these powers were being exercised. On the whole, however, the administration of the Settlement has been characterized in recent years more by a desire not to raise new issues than by an arbitrary use of power; and it is largely from this unwillingness, motivated by the policies of the respective home governments, that the Council's major difficulties have arisen in its effort to give the Settlement a sound and progressive modern administration.

From another standpoint it may be said that the main problem of municipal administration is the rapid growth of Shanghai in population, trade, and building. A large city always is the occasion of controversy between the local administrative body, concerned mainly with the interests of local groups, and the machinery of state government, which cannot permit a monopoly of local interests in the control of a metropolitan district; for that control by its very nature affects the welfare of a much larger area if not of the state as a whole. Because many of the conflicts between overgrown urban centers and the interests of the state at large are practically insoluble, especially when these centers are also the seats of financial control over many forms of rural enterprise, some reformers regard all large cities as evils to be kept within limits by state policy.

² Report to the Shanghai Municipal Council, I (1931), 62.

Others, perhaps more realistically, have come to the conclusion that the largeness of cities is not necessarily a social evil. The seemingly insoluble problems of many of the large metropolitan districts arise, rather, from the fact that legislative bodies and administrative agencies are often incapable of dealing wisely with the exceedingly complex tasks which such agglomerations of humanity present. If, as is usual, the system of local government is antiquated, and a number of bodies with conflicting responsibilities attempt to act on the same problems, we get conflicts of authority which may endanger even the most obvious needs of the community.

In Shanghai this typical difficulty is aggravated by the fact that great national and international issues loom behind the usual clashes between local authorities. The recent destruction of property in Shanghai, for example, was probably no greater than that in Tokyo after the earthquake in 1923. Yet Tokyo was reconstructed almost without friction, under the direct administration of the state, which was able to entrust the task to a man of genius, the late Viscount Goto, who had studied municipal government in Europe and America and for many years had been active in the administrative reform of the capital. In Shanghai, both administrative readjustment and physical replanning will probably have to take place under much more difficult circumstances. Apart from the distribution of legal jurisdiction over several bodies, the respective local authorities do not possess collateral powers extending uniformly over the whole areas under their control.

As far as the International Settlement is concerned, it suffers from inability to tax the unearned increment which its services create, in more than a fraction of the area that is really benefited; nor can it plan important services without

International Settlement, as in so many large and congested cities, is the disparity between land values and the incomes of the great majority of the people. This evil can be eradicated only by the physical decentralization of the city—that is, a gradual equalization between the use values of land included in the central city area and those of surrounding areas. It is here that the unfortunate limitation of powers has its direst consequences. Even the extension of roads from the International Settlement to the adjoining suburban areas, accompanied by a partly disputed exercise of police power, has failed to make residence or the location of enterprise in the outskirts as safe and convenient as it is in the area under undisputed control of the Municipal Council.

Unless there should be a unification of political control, the International Settlement will remain a refuge and a center of attraction for large numbers of people. Since it may not be able to secure the additional powers necessary for an effective plan of decentralization, the question should be raised whether it is not, perhaps, possible to limit the influx of population and in this way to create the necessary conditions for a reduction of artificially high land values and for an enlarged program of planned services to the community.

Another method of lessening congestion would be for the International Settlement to acquire from the Chinese Government, instead of the present unsatisfactory partial power of control over a considerable adjacent area, complete control over one or more strictly limited "satellite" areas, not necessarily adjacent if means of communication are provided. Great improvements and economies probably could be achieved if the International Settlement were able to plan a complete center of industry on hitherto undeveloped

land, with all the services indispensable to efficient and inexpensive conveyance of power, transportation, storage, and other needs. More important, a satisfactory solution of Shanghai's housing problem probably is not possible without a low-cost and therefore large-scale residential development, for which there is no room within the present limits of the Settlement. The construction of a model residential suburb for families of limited means (though not necessarily the very poorest) would serve many purposes of good government that need hardly be enumerated. Even the school question would be brought closer to a satisfactory solution if school provision for the children of Chinese residents in the International Settlement could be made in close proximity to a large residential unit, on inexpensive land, and related to other services needed to ensure the health and wholesome environment of the young.

Whether such a project would in its entirety have to be constructed and financed by the municipal authority itself may be open to discussion. Certainly, it must be planned as a unit to fulfill the purpose here envisaged. Probably some method by which the taxpayers would retain the unearned increment of the land values but a large part of the cost of development and home construction would be placed upon private enterprise, both Chinese and foreign, would best meet the situation.

V

The problems incident to Shanghai's congestion, overcrowding of homes, unsuitable uses of land and properties, and large numbers of houses unfit for human occupation, cannot be solved by any single measure or procedure, however generous and well-planned. There remain many problems that require special treatment.

Within the municipal settlement means of transit obviously are in great need of improvement. The haphazard growth of Shanghai has made for a street plan that can be improved only by replanning and elimination of the existing dams to the flow of traffic.

Congested areas in some instances can be reconstructed without a lessened occupancy, as has been done by the London County Council, through the limitation of permitted land uses and the building of tenements. While "model" homes cannot be provided in the built-up parts of the Settlement, at least a minimum of shelter, light and air, cleanliness, and decency in their surroundings can be provided for that great majority of the people who cannot afford to pay more than they now do for shelter and who cannot be shifted far from their present location.

For workshops and small factories, now interspersed with residential quarters and causing inefficiency, insanitation, and loss, suitable accommodation can be provided through large-scale construction. Even the smallest industrial shop can, by suitable large-scale provision, be helped to function economically under greatly improved conditions and with the use of services now unobtainable. Such a concentration of small industries has for the community at large the advantage of making much more practicable than at present the enforcement of sanitary and industrial codes, fire prevention, regulation of traffic, and other requirements of an orderly conduct of business. It would also facilitate a more adequate control of the labor market in the public interest and thus be of advantage to both employers and wage earners, as yet without any modern machinery of hiring.

Concentration of industrial premises and decentralization of residential sections

also would give the authorities a much better control than now over the labor relations of casual laborers who, instead of drifting through the community, could be directed through regular channels to opportunities for employment. In this way dangerous convergences of unemployed workers and the drifting of individual work seekers through the community could both be obviated. (Employment exchanges connected by telephone with model garden suburbs in such cities as Antwerp and Frankfort allow even for dock laborers an orderly process of hiring, instead of the disorderly aggregation of work seekers at the dock gates which still obtains in many other cities. When not called to work at his main occupation, the registered dock laborer in these cities remains at home, tending his allotment, or engages in some other useful occupation.)

Another problem that can be dealt with only by special provision is that of the large number of transients and of individuals without dependents, attracted by the work opportunities of a commercial port. No matter by what measures the influx of transients may possibly be reduced, it is obvious that a modern city administered for efficiency and social welfare will provide housing accommodation of a suitable kind for this group in one or more suitable locations.

Some years ago, a Chinese architect developed an admirable plan for a central market in the International Settlement, to be connected both with existing transport facilities and with subsidiary markets. Some such plan, related to whatever reconstruction or decentralization of residential neighborhoods may be contemplated, should become a part of the general key plan for the future development of the Settlement.

The International Settlement has made

beginnings with provision for the recreational needs of the people, but, because of the many difficulties, to an extent that compares very unfavorably with such provision in other large colonial cities. The requirements of sanitation and of wholesome outdoor enjoyment alike point to the need for providing in the development plan for recreation areas of different kinds and size. In some instances the removal of insanitary homes and small factories would provide for convenient small neighborhood parks and playgrounds. The planning of new residential areas and schools would give opportunities to anticipate more fully the needs both of the present and future. But more heroic measures are needed to make up for past neglect in this respect. One of them, unquestionably, is the conversion of the only remaining large open space in the Settlement, the race course, into a popular recreation area (which it already is to some extent when not used for racing) and the removal of the privately owned race course to another part of the Settlement area.

Civic pride can be raised, experience has shown, by paying attention to the appearance and location of public buildings. This applies not only to new structures but also to the improvement of the surroundings of existing ones. The treatment of temple yards and the approach to shrines in Japanese cities, no less than the more ambitious settings created in Western cities for schools and other public buildings, offer many examples of relatively inexpensive means to achieve an object that has as yet hardly been recognized at all by the Municipal Council as a major claim on its budget. Or perhaps it would be fairer to say that the rate payers who elect the Council have paid all too little attention to questions that assume a permanent interest

in the community such as only continuous residence over more than one generation will elicit. Too many of them, and especially those most influential among the foreign residents of Shanghai, still remain transients in spirit if not always in fact. As such they put up with inconveniences and with a drabness in their surroundings that is entirely unnecessary, since it can be obviated by careful planning and by occasional replanning as opportunities arise—almost without cost when the effect of such improvements on the value of adjacent business properties is taken into account.

To return to more elementary needs, the introduction of a modern system of poor relief and of treatment of offenders obviously is impossible as long as large masses of the poor live in slums, and even those a little better off cannot give their children a reasonably safe environment. It is perhaps not to be expected that in the near future the International Settlement—or, for that matter, any city in China—can provide in a modern way for the treatment of destitution and of delinquency. Preventive work is impossible, not so much because of the generally low economic status of a large part of the population, but because the prerequisites for effective methods of individual and family adjustment do not exist in the structure of the community and its physical plan.

VI

From this mere indication of some of the outstanding problems we are thus brought back to the fundamental issue, that of the livelihood of the people. The destruction of property and the exodus of industrial enterprises in the last few years add to a deficiency in this respect which long has made Shanghai, though one of the richest ports of the East and world-famous for the luxury of its night life, also an apt

illustration of unrelieved suffering and degradation in modern society. The difference of Shanghai from other large port cities in these respects is, of course, one of degree and not of kind. As elsewhere, a comparison of recent conditions with those of two or three decades ago will show unmistakable progress toward a more persistent and generous treatment by the community of the needs of its weakest members. But progress in Shanghai, because of the political situation in which the three municipal authorities have had to operate, has not been as rapid as in other cities, both Chinese and foreign. The fundamental problem is not one that can be solved by administrative measures alone but only, as everywhere, by a substitution of social for narrowly selfish aims in the conduct of business and in the operation of every agency that affects the fortunes of the many.

In comparison with other metropolitan centers, Shanghai has retained not only an antiquated city government but also an antiquated objective in city government and in the pursuit of gain by private corporations and individuals. It has achieved neither that relationship between classes which permits each to function with some security and satisfaction nor that relationship between city and hinterland which permits a wider area to share in the wealth accumulated in the shelter of the foreign settlement. Students of the class struggle often overlook the equally important struggle between adjacent regions with divergent economic interests. The labor of undernourished peasants competing for jobs in Shanghai so fiercely as to bring wages for many of them below a subsistence level is so inefficient as not to be a cheap labor. Yet it is the existence of this group, which despite the fluctuations of its size and of the labor

requirements of Shanghai industries is always much too large to be absorbed, that is primarily responsible for the low level of life in that city. Its mass poverty stands in the way of improvements that cannot be brought about without increased public expenditure.

While it is no part of the Municipal Council's responsibilities to aid directly in the raising of that level and in the reduction of that poverty, nevertheless it is possible for the community of the International Settlement to protect itself somewhat against the encroachment on its security of a condition produced, on the one hand, by the greed of employers who could afford to improve labor conditions and, on the other, by the helplessness of masses of people driven to the city by the even more hopeless economic conditions in their home communities.

In short, the area from which this low-paid labor is drawn to Shanghai, and to the International Settlement in particular, must be brought within the economic orbit of Shanghai, so as to become a source of decent, self-respecting working people rather than of human outcasts willing to sell their labor for a starvation wage. The key to the situation lies in the building up of a modern system of communications and in decentralizing enterprises not linked on sound economic grounds to the city with its terrible costs in comfort, health, and life itself. The region around Shanghai is as obviously underdeveloped as the city is over-congested. What is needed is an organic interrelation between town and country such as we find in the great metropolitan communities of the West.

The shadow cast by a metropolis upon the surrounding countryside is, of course, of mixed hue. Just to the south of Shanghai, what was once a marsh between the Whanpoo River and Hangchow Bay

has been drained and cultivated in response to the city's demand for food, to become one of the richest areas in China.³ So also much of the region to the north and west has benefited both from the market which the metropolis affords for its products and from its absorption of surplus manpower. This, however, has not apparently become a source of remittances from city to village—in contrast with the way in which the Chinese settlements overseas have been benefactors of their home communities in China. Villages in Kuangtung and Fukien, from which many sons have gone forth to Singapore, Bangkok, or Manila, are dotted with modern schools and modern homes; but it can hardly be said that the villages of Kiangsu and Chekiang, that have sent their sons to Shanghai, reflect modern influences at all. Except for an occasional motor road and for telephone posts, they appear much as they must have looked a century ago. In other words, the relation of Shanghai to its rural environment resembles that of many port cities in European colonies which, seen from the water front, may seem more modern than the less advanced old port cities of the mother country, but the cultural influence of which extends only a few miles into the interior.

A distinction is necessary between the importance of Shanghai for the Yangtze Valley with its 750,000 square miles—about one-half of the area of China proper—and the delta area of about 50,000 square miles.⁴ To the larger region Shanghai is bound by commerce and finance; for the nearer surrounding area it is the principal industrial and cultural center as

well, storing its surplus products and processing them both for export and for home consumption, serving it with skilled and technical labor, and absorbing its surplus of unskilled labor.

VII

The question of Shanghai's future is closely bound up, then, with the question whether in spirit and in function it will remain predominantly a foreign element or whether it will be more fully absorbed into the economic life of China. Such flexible plans for future development as those of the great modern port cities in the West are alien in purpose and in application to a community which, by its very nature, cannot purposefully serve the welfare of a much larger geographical area. Everything that has been said above concerning particular objects of reform and reconstruction falls to the ground unless it be conceded that the future of Shanghai must be envisaged as being bound up with that of China—or at least that large part of it from which it draws so much of its wealth.

Not only the survival of Shanghai in its present magnitude but its future growth may be expected as a high probability because of the city's geographical situation in one of the richest agricultural regions of China. In a period of peace and orderly progress, undoubtedly the investment of capital in this region and the improvement of its methods of agricultural production and distribution, so long retarded by external causes, will proceed at a rapid pace. Quite regardless of whether large-scale processes will to any considerable extent supersede the individualistic practices which now rule and whether production will shift more in the direction either of domestic use or of export, the ratio of means of production to manpower will undoubtedly increase

³ George B. Cressey, "The Fenghsien Landscape: A Fragment of the Yangtze Delta," *Geographical Review* (1936), p. 396.

⁴ John E. Orchard, "Shanghai," *Geographical Review* (January 1936), pp. 11-12.

until something like the norm in Western countries—one unit of urban and mainly industrial for one of rural and mainly agricultural—will have been reached. If modernization, instead of merely benefiting foreign interests, should lead to a more widespread prosperity of the rural population, a further large impetus will be given to the demand for such manufactured goods as the port city is best able to produce.

The British Parliament and the American Congress should wake up to the fact that their responsibility for the government of the International Settlement of Shanghai is facing them with a question to which there are only two possible answers. Either the Settlement must be administered, with such Chinese and Japanese participation as may be politically unavoidable, as a definitely colonial dependency and given the same thoroughly efficient, sound administration as is applied to Singapore or Manila; or it must definitely be abandoned as an impossible task. There can be no middle way if the now generally accepted sense of duty toward the welfare of a subject community is to be respected. As individuals, the foreign members of the Municipal Council of Shanghai, and the consular officers who are the agents of national authority, have rendered burdensome services in trying circumstances, not always sufficiently recognized by their compatriots; but the task set them by their home governments has been neither clear-cut nor capable of practical fulfillment. They cannot, within the limits of the powers entrusted to them, produce a municipal government of which they and their fellow citizens can be proud.

Cities cannot be administered as wholly independent political units except where they enjoy all the prerogatives of a state. They are nuclei of specialization for

economic processes that must of necessity extend over a much larger area. The best governed cities today are those which integrate in an inclusive policy and plan for the whole community a variety of functions for their respective hinterlands. Their unsolved problems arise from the difficulty of blending these functions in an organic whole, not from incapacity to render the services needed by their own citizens. Their inner conflicts reflect divisions of interest that are national rather than local. Exploitation of one class by another is most severe where the interests of citizens are not rooted in the city itself, but have larger stakes in common with groups outside. For, within the city, contrasts of class interests are softened by the common stake in its prosperity.

In the International Settlement that common stake has never been allowed to develop with sufficient force to influence disruptive national and class interests. Suggestions have been made above which, from the standpoint of Shanghai's traditions, may seem fantastic; but this is only because foreign residents in Shanghai have never come to identify themselves with the city's welfare as Londoners do with that of London or Bostonians with that of the New England capital. It was impossible for them to do so. A few concessions, under the stress of dangerous friction with Chinese interests and national sentiment, was the most that could be expected of them—at least, of the more influential groups that control the International Settlement's economic and political life. The situation may change considerably when large-scale Western economic operations in Shanghai will have been dislodged by Asiatic competition, under whatever national auspices. Even a relatively large community of Westerners in the International Settlement, composed of small

tradesmen, of professional people, technicians and others whose economic power remains within relatively narrow limits may be expected to play an entirely different role from that of the large foreign corporations and business houses. A historian has observed that "the smaller and poorer the city, the more effective was [in medieval Europe] the democratic tendency among the artisan class and the greater was the probability that the Patriciate would be forced to broaden the basis of oligarchic government."⁵

The inability of the International Settlement of Shanghai to arrive at a *modus vivendi* between foreign and Chinese residents does not lie in an inevitable clash between foreign and national interests. It lies in the power of the small group of foreign "economic royalists" to impose its will upon indigenous and foreign residents alike. If this power should be removed, the cosmopolitan composition of the Settlement's population would offer no insuperable obstacle to a harmonious cooperation of the whole citizenry in the upbuilding of a progressive, modern community.⁶ Reconstruction and reform are not primarily matters of vast expenditure, such as require the participation of privileged groups. They are, rather, in

the first stages, matters of common intent.

Reconstruction is a matter of detail. It calls not only for wide plans and assertive action but also for the particular care of this little village and that little hamlet. . . . Saint Theresa, visiting a stricken city, said to the citizens: "You need a hospital, and here are two pennies." . . . The first great clue to the problem of reconstruction in ruined areas is in the care of the children.⁷

It is the monstrous indifference of Shanghai to the suffering of children that will live in the memory of men when the history of the era now passing will be told. The sweatshops of the International Settlement where child slaves work until late into the night at occupations dangerous to limb and life, the hovels where high rents force families to crowd together in single unventilated rooms, the lack of schools and playgrounds and even, in some neighborhoods, of the most elementary public sanitation, the tolerance of vice—these are shadows of a foreign rule which every decent citizen in England and in the United States, made aware of the facts, will repudiate as acceptable conditions of a continuing privileged position of their respective countries in China. The future of Shanghai rests on the determination of the Western world to give that city's children at least that bare chance to survive which it affords the children of the most humble in its own communities.⁸

⁵ M. V. Clarke, *The Medieval City State* (London, 1926), p. 39.

⁶ Closer acquaintance shows the falsity of the opinion sometimes drawn from superficial observation that the foreigners in Shanghai "act as one classless social group." (*Fortune*, January 1935, p. 102.) While many business employees naturally try to identify their own interests with those of the firms that employ them, there are large numbers of foreigners, long resident—and by no means only Russians—who regard the city as their home and deplore the inadequacies of its government and the degradation of so large a part of its population.

⁷ Patrick Geddes and Gilbert Slater, *Ideas at War* (London, 1917), pp. 171, 173.

⁸ Since this article was written, the administrative and social problems of Shanghai have reached an even more acute phase; and the Institute of Pacific Relations has initiated two important new studies of the situation. The first of these, "War-time Economic and Social Developments in Shanghai," by Robert W. Barnett, is now in press.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM OF PUERTO RICO AND ITS FOREBODINGS OF MALTHUSIANISM*

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I

ALTHOUGH the Malthusian theory is of little importance in the United States where interest is becoming increasingly centered upon a decline rather than an increase in population, and where resources exist which almost astound the world, some of the outlying territories of the United States present a marked contrast to this. Puerto Rico which is politically a part of the United States would offer as good an opportunity for testing the principle of Malthus as China, India, or Java. It operates as a small separate economy, where birth control is of no consequence, and where there is a rapidly growing population.

The purpose of this paper is not to prove that there is a law of population, nor to prove that the Malthusian principle necessarily operates in Puerto Rico, but to emphasize the seriousness of the population problem facing the people of this island, and to point out some of the rather striking implications of Malthus'

* Since writing this paper the preliminary figure of 1,869,245 has been announced by the Bureau as the population of the island for 1940. It will be noted that this figure differs by only about 15,000 from that suggested for this year. This 1940 figure clearly bears out the fact that an increase in growth is taking place. During the last decade the percentage of population growth is greater by several percent than those percentages of the previous censuses. During the last ten years Puerto Rico's population increased 21.1 percent compared with about 6.5 percent for the United States. The population density per square mile is now about 550. No change in the general position taken in this paper is necessary on account of this tentative figure.

doctrine which appear when considering this problem.¹

Before discussing Malthus' theory with relation to Puerto Rico, it is first necessary to give a few of the important facts about the relation of the number of people to the island's resources, and to say a word about the economic condition of the Puerto Rican people.²

II

It is evident that population growth in Puerto Rico has already caused an extremely poor relation to exist between natural resources and number of people. The island is about thirty-five miles wide and one hundred miles long and contains only 3,435 square miles. In this small space live almost two million United States citizens. In comparative size, Puerto Rico has about the same number of square miles as Delaware and Rhode Island together, and its population is about the same as that of the State of Washington and that of Florida. In number of people, Puerto Rico far exceeds that of states in the Mountain group, and most of those in New England. With a population of 1,723,335 at December 1935, its density had reached 507 per square mile.³ Its present density is probably

¹ Although the island has now been U. S. territory for about forty years, not one published study has appeared which is devoted specifically and entirely to the population problem.

² I am indebted to the Columbia University Press for permission to use the data contained in the tables and other material which appeared in my publication, *The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City*, 1938.

³ *Census of Puerto Rico*, 1935. The Bureau computes density on the basis of 3,400.06 square miles.

over 540 per square mile. This figure is far in excess of the densities reported for such countries as Japan and Italy.⁴ In 1935, there were only one and one-third acres of total land per capita.⁵ Since about three-fourths of the island's surface is mountainous or irregular, the number of persons per cultivated mile is 1,650 or more.⁶

The scarcity of land is greatly accentuated by the way in which it is held. In 1930 about one-third of all the improved land was held in farms of over 500 acres in size.⁷ Except for a few deposits of clay and a small amount of manganese, there are no commercial mineral resources. Furthermore, geologists state that there is little chance that either coal or oil will ever be discovered on the island.⁸ The timber has long ago been used up and lumber now has to be imported. In short, a great scarcity of land already exists in relation to the number of people and the island is practically without mineral resources.

Puerto Rico should not be compared with highly-industrialized areas, since it is almost entirely an agricultural country. There are, on the island, a few small industries directly connected with agriculture and the growing of fruit. There will also be found several factories making such articles as buttons and hats. One of the largest industries, not related to agriculture, is needlework. A large part of this work is home-sewing and the garments are cut in New York and sent to the island to be finished. On account of the fact that wages are notori-

ously low, this industry has been regarded as parasitical and one without promise as a means of supporting the island's population in a satisfactory or adequate manner. No one can predict what future development will take place on the island, but since it lies in the tropics and since in 1930 over forty percent of its population was illiterate, there is a serious doubt as to whether, at least for a long time, any highly-industrialized state may be possible. It seems significant that up to the present time there has never been a country lying at the same latitude as Puerto Rico which even approaches a highly-industrialized state.

Not only is there a great scarcity of resources relative to population, but the one-money-crop system of sugar makes Puerto Rico dependent upon outside sources for food. Before the island became a part of the United States, it was far from self-supporting. At present Puerto Rico cannot give up its money crop of sugar and revert to the growing of food for its people. The reason for this is that "with but seven-tenths of an acre (of arable land) per person, crops of low average value per acre will result in low income and a consequent lowered standard of living."⁹ Population has apparently increased with each development of productive capacity resulting from the introduction of American capital and industrial methods. The island presents an example of an agricultural economy which is unable to feed itself. Actually, with the exception of Hawaii, it has the highest imports per capita of any place in the world.¹⁰

⁴ See Table 3.

⁵ Puerto Rico contains approximately 2,200,000 acres.

⁶ Source: D. DeGolia, *Tariff Problems of Puerto Rico*, p. 69.

⁷ J. E. McCord, *Types of Farming in Puerto Rico*, p. 22.

⁸ H. A. Myerhoof, *Geology of Puerto Rico*, p. 124.

⁹ U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Puerto Rico Experiment Station, Report, Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, 1935, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Puerto Rico, Commercial and Industrial*, published by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce of Puerto Rico, 1934, p. 3.

III

A far more serious problem even than that of the poor relation of resources and present numbers just described, is the growth in population now taking place on the island. Table 1 shows the growth in the population of Puerto Rico from 1765 to 1935.

The American occupation took place in 1898 and a census was taken in 1899. The last census taken was at December 1, 1935. In this period of about thirty-six

became a part of the United States. The rate of growth during the last period of a little less than six years was 1.95 percent per year. At the time of the American occupation, it was approximately 1.5 percent per year.

Since there is no immigration to Puerto Rico, the population growth in recent years is due to natural increase. Although important differences in the rates are undoubtedly due to the faulty registration in the earlier years, the birth rate shows

TABLE 1
POPULATION OF PUERTO RICO 1765 TO 1935*

YEAR	POPULATION	INCREASE OVER PRECEDING CENSUS		INTERCENSAL PERIOD	
		Number	Percent	Years	Months
1935 (Dec. 1)	1,723,534	179,621	11.6	5	8
1930 (Apr. 1)	1,543,913	244,104	18.8	10	3
1920 (Jan. 1)	1,299,809	181,797	16.3	9	8½
1910 (Apr. 15)	1,118,012	164,769	17.3	10	5½
1899 (Nov. 10)	953,243	154,678	19.4	12	
1887	798,565	66,917	9.1	10	
1877	731,648	148,340	25.4	17	
1860	583,308	135,394	30.2	14	
1846	447,914	117,863	35.7	14	
1832	330,051	109,159	49.4	17	
1815	220,892	65,466	42.1	15	
1800	155,426	85,176	121.2	25	
1775	70,250	25,367	56.5	10	
1765	44,883				

* Source: *Census of Puerto Rico*, 1935, p. 1.

years, the population increased more than eighty percent. Up to 1930, the increase per decade has been about eighteen percent. An unusual rate of growth took place in the period of five and two-thirds years, between the regular census of 1930 and the special census taken in 1935. The rate of growth for this relatively short period was 11.6 percent. If the census figures can be taken as accurate, there has been an increase in the rate of growth in each decade since the island

a large increase and the death rate a decline. During the years 1900-1904, the average birth rate per 1,000 was 29.0 and the death rate was 26.4. In the years from 1931 to 1936 the average birth rate was 40.4 and the death rate 20.5. This compares with a birth rate of about 17 and a death rate of a little over 11 for the United States. A comparison with the recorded rates of other countries shows that Puerto Rico has one of the highest birth rates of any country in the

world from which statistics are available.¹¹

Table 3 shows the figures of reported densities of selected countries as compared with Puerto Rico. The rapid increase in the population density of Puerto Rico is brought out by a comparison of the present figure of 506.8 per square mile in 1935 with figures of the previous census years. In 1899, soon after the American occupation, the number of people per square mile was only 280.3. In the period from the census of

tinues the density of Puerto Rico may equal that of Java in only twenty-five years. Table 2 showed that the rate of increase per year from 1920 to 1930 was 1.69 percent and the rate of increase from 1930 to 1935 was 1.95 percent per year. For ease in calculation, let us assume that a fair estimate of the present rate of increase is 1.8 percent per year. If Puerto

TABLE 2
ANNUAL RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH IN PUERTO RICO IN SELECTED PERIODS 1877-1935

PERIOD	YEARS	MONTHS	RATE OF GROWTH PERCENT—PER YEAR*
1877 to 1887	10	0	.88
1887 to 1899	12	0	1.48
1899 to 1910	10	5½	1.54
1910 to 1920	9	8½	1.56
1920 to 1930	10	3	1.69
1930 to 1935	5	8	1.95

* The geometric mean has been used to determine these rates.

1930 to the latest census, 1935, a period of a little less than six years, the density per square mile increased from 454.0 to a figure of 506.8.

Puerto Rico is rapidly approaching the density of Java.¹² If the growth con-

¹¹ Birth and death rates for Puerto Rico will be found in the *Annual Reports* of the Commissioner of Health of Puerto Rico. For comparison with other countries see *U. S. Vital Statistics*, 1937, and other years.

¹² "The overall density of population (of Puerto Rico) is about 510 per square mile, exceeded only in such industrial countries as Belgium and the Netherlands and in such agricultural countries as Java, and some of the islands in the various West Indian group. . . . The density per square mile of *cultivated* land is about 1,500, almost the same as that of Java. But Java has a greater diversification of crops than

TABLE 3
POPULATION DENSITY OF PUERTO RICO COMPARED WITH THAT OF OTHER COUNTRIES*

COUNTRY	POPULATION DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE
Java	822
Belgium	694
Netherlands	641
Puerto Rico	507
British Isles	491
Japan	446
Germany	351
Italy	349
Cuba	90
United States	42

* The figure for Puerto Rico is that based on the census of 1935. The U. S. figure is based on the U. S. Census estimate for 1934. Other figures are taken from the *Report* of the Puerto Rican Experiment Station, 1935, and represent estimates for 1934 and 1935. Such figures are not always comparable and are at best only approximations.

Rico continues to grow at this rate, the population and density will be as follows:

YEAR	POPULATION	DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE
1940	1,884,000	554
1950	2,252,000	662
1960	2,692,000	792

Puerto Rico and a greater proportion of its land cultivated by and for its inhabitants. Therefore the *effective* density of population in Puerto Rico is perhaps the greatest in the world. Earl P. Hanson, "The Dilemma of Puerto Rico," *Science and Society*, 1, No. 4 (Summer 1937), p. 501.

IV

Abysmal poverty describes the condition of the mass of the Puerto Rican people. Before the recent wage and hour law, a survey by the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico showed that about one-half of the 70,000 workers studied, earned ten cents per hour or less.¹³ In the needlework industry a few years ago a woman often did well to earn ten cents per day.¹⁴ Actual hourly rates in comparable industries are often only one-third or one-fourth of those found in the continental United States.¹⁵ With these wages, as has been pointed out, the worker must spend a part of his income for imported food from the United States. Unemployment, which has been accentuated by the great depression, existed in a chronic state before this period. In Ponce, the island's second largest city, one report showed that in 1929 about 47 percent of the men investigated were either totally or periodically unemployed.¹⁶ In 1934 it was estimated that roughly one-third of the working population were unemployed.¹⁷ As late as 1936, it was calculated that 82 percent of the people were on relief in one form or another.¹⁸

Health conditions on the island correspond to the conditions of overcrowding, malnutrition, and extreme poverty.

¹³ Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico, *Annual Report*, 1934-35, pp. 40-41.

¹⁴ U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bulletin 118, *The Employment of Women in Puerto Rico*, p. 2.

¹⁵ Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico, *Report*, 1934-35, p. 42.

¹⁶ V. S. Clark, Brookings Institution Report, *Puerto Rico and Its Problems*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁷ Hanson, *op. cit.*, p. 499.

¹⁸ E. Gruening, "The Outposts of Our Empire," *New York Times*, Sept. 30, 1936. This figure was that of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Puerto Rico. See also D. Bourne, "Puerto Rico's Predicament," *Survey*, July 1936.

Puerto Rico appears to have the highest death rates from tuberculosis of any country in the world for which statistics are available.¹⁹ A majority of the people suffer from some form of parasitical disease. In some of the villages, it has been found that ninety percent of the people have hookworm, a disease which could be largely eliminated by the wearing of shoes and other sanitary precautions.²⁰ The infant mortality rate for the island is twice that of the United States.

Equally bad are housing conditions. Thousands formerly living in the rural districts have begun to take up life in the slums of the larger cities. Near the outskirts of a large city such as San Juan, houses are often built on waste land and the water may stand under them most of the time.²¹ Almost every study of the Department of Labor has stressed the poor condition and overcrowding of the workers in their homes. Especially deplorable is the condition of the rural home. Here it is not uncommon to find eight or ten people, perhaps of two families, crowded together in one small hut.²²

Up to this time no relief or rehabilitation program has been able to do more than to apparently postpone what appears to be the beginning of the disintegration of this economy. During the last few years, relief on the island has assumed rather large proportions. The appropriation for public works alone by the present administration in Washington was greater

¹⁹ Mandry Costa, M.D. "Epidemiology of Tuberculosis in Puerto Rico," *Puerto Rican Journal of Public Health and Tropical Medicine*, Vol. IV, July 1928. This rate for 1936 was 305.6 per 100,000. *Annual Report*, Commissioner of Health, *op. cit.*, 1936-37.

²⁰ Walter C. Earle (Rockefeller Foundation) *American Journal Tropical Medicine*, x, 120.

²¹ Descriptions of housing conditions in *Report of Puerto Rican Relief Administration* by James R. Bourne, Aug. 19, 1933 to Aug. 31, 1934, pp. 17 ff.

²² See Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

than the entire investment of American capital in the sugar industry on the island.²³ In the space of a few years, the Federal Government spent something like \$70,000,000 for relief and reconstruction. Puerto Rico does not pay taxes to the Federal Government; taxes collected in the United States on its tobacco are refunded to the island and it is allowed to retain the tariff which it collects on imported articles. Despite these facts, it is doubtful that the island itself can support any adequate program of relief for its people. If relief were offered with substantially the same requirements as some of our Eastern States, three-fourths of the people might prove eligible for benefits.

In studying the optimum population, an attempt has been made to set up the four fundamental factors of an economy as land and natural resources, state of arts, population, and standard of living.²⁴ If any analysis could be made on such a basis for Puerto Rico, it would show that a relatively large increase in number is yearly being added to an economy which has long since passed any concept of an optimum population.

V

Although Malthus retained the geometrical and arithmetical ratios in the later editions of his famous essay, many interpret it to mean that there are certain fundamental tendencies in population growth and in the increase in subsistence. "It is the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it."²⁵ Although admitting that there is in man, as in all

animal life, a potential capacity to reproduce, some of the critics saw in the theory of Malthus only a hypothetical rate rather than the actual rate at which populations did increase. Although they scoffed at his apparent failure to forecast the marked improvements which later took place in agriculture, the sciences, market organization, and transportation, he did, however, realize that improvements in agriculture could be made, and that specialization could take place which would provide food from other lands, but he did not think that these facts would disprove his theory. It is not clear just what idea Malthus had of subsistence—whether only food or some standard of necessities and conveniences in addition to food. In many places in the Essay the idea of food is clearly stated or implied. It is now commonly believed that pressure of numbers has proved to be more upon a standard of living than upon actual subsistence. In many countries, social ambition, the growing independence of women, psychological factors such as the fear of childbirth, the desire to give fewer children exceptional advantages, and the constantly increasing standard of consumption are more powerful as checks to growth than subsistence. Malthus realized that there were other forces which would run counter to his principle. He spoke of the fact that the rich have fewer children than the poor; but, again, he did not think that this would invalidate his general conclusions. Malthus has also been accused of relating the gratification of the sex instinct to an increase in the number of children. He completely left out, of course, what we now call "birth control." Any attempt to build a law of population upon the Malthusian principle and apply it to countries calls for an assumption that there will be no

²³ The appropriation was near \$40,000,000. D. DeGolia, *op. cit.* estimates the investment of American capital in the sugar industry at \$30,000,000.

²⁴ For example, H. P. Fairchild.

²⁵ Everyman's Edition, p. 5.

dynamic factors, such as a change in the state of arts, and broadens the conception of the preventive check.

There is, however, a vast difference in the necessary modifications to be made in Malthus' theory when it is applied to a European country and to one such as Puerto Rico. As we examine Malthus' theory, there seems to be little difference between the island and the condition of over-population, with its poverty and suffering, which Malthus thought would eventually befall England. First, one of the factors upon which Malthus built his theory was the rate of increase. Malthus spoke of a country doubling its population in twenty-five years.²⁶ At the present rate of growth, Puerto Rico will double its present population in about thirty-five or forty years. For a normally constituted population, the maximum birth rate might be near 45 and the death rate 15.²⁷ Puerto Rico comes close to this maximum. The "power of population" of which Malthus wrote means that in Puerto Rico the present one and three-quarter million people will within a relatively short time become three and one-half million; and within the life span of one person, this population could become, if not checked, seven million.

Due to reasons already given, it seems almost certain that no industrial expansion, at least in the near future, comparable with that which took place in Europe during the last century can be hoped for in Puerto Rico. The importation of foreign capital for agriculture will not go on. So long as Puerto Rico is an agricultural country, the possibility for inventions and discoveries as a means of employment is greatly lessened.

²⁶ Everyman's Edition of Essay, p. 8.

²⁷ These are rates suggested by Taussig, *Principles of Economics* (1921), vol. 2, p. 227.

Not only did industrialization permit population growth in a country such as England but also a vast exchange of commodities was built up. Thus, through trade Europe was fed by means of land in America and other parts of the world. Puerto Rico has already built up its exchange of sugar for food and other necessities. One-half of the island's entire wealth is accounted for because of this industry alone.²⁸ It is difficult to see how the principle of what is commonly termed "comparative advantage" can be carried much farther to provide additional food. Even the market for the island's sugar rests partly at least on an artificial tariff structure, as Puerto Rico could not sell its sugar at the present time in the world market because of higher costs.

In Puerto Rico an actual concept of subsistence, as we ordinarily understand the term, becomes a reality. This applies to a majority of the island's people. This is particularly true for the rural peasant, or "Jíbaro." The main diet of the masses is rice and beans. Many still go barefoot. A rural peasant's knowledge of the outside world may not extend farther than that gained from a trip to a nearby town. Equally bad is the plight of the worker who has migrated to the cities. Here, poverty is also found which almost beggars description.

The factor of birth control, which has nullified the Malthusian doctrine in the minds of many, will be of much less significance in Puerto Rico than in most countries. An important reason for this is that such a practice conflicts with the cultural attitudes of the Puerto Rican people. Perhaps the chief difficulty for its operation lies in the low standard of living. Puerto Rico has serious problems

²⁸ B. W. and J. W. Diffie, *Porto Rico—a Broken Pledge*, p. 201.

of illegitimacy and homeless children. About one-third of the marriages on the island are of a consensual nature.²⁹ There is a vast difference in the incentives to limit the size of the family in Puerto Rico and in the United States or Europe. If the standard of living could suddenly be brought to a high level, the birth rate would decline. On the other hand, if population grows at anything like its present rate, it will be increasingly difficult to improve the standard of living.

There exists a fair amount of evidence that there is a tendency, as Malthus claimed, for Puerto Rico's population to grow up to the increase in the subsistence provided. With the American occupation, came a great increase in productive power. Improvements were made in agriculture, especially in the sugar cane industry, and the island was absorbed into the tariff structure of the United States which permitted the island's sugar to be sold in the continental market. V. S. Clark, in probably the most valuable study which has been made about the island, comes to the following conclusion:³⁰

The reason why Porto Rico's population has increased more than twice as fast as that of the British islands may be found in the relatively rapid economic development . . . under existing conditions the population multiplies to the subsistence limit as determined by the relatively low living standard of the tropics.

This statement was made prior to the growth in population which took place between 1930 and 1935. The increase

in the rate of growth during each decade since the American occupation and the growth in absolute numbers during this period have already been given.

Although not stated in these words, Malthus' theory rests upon his conception of a subsistence theory of wages. If wages increase and living becomes easier, then we may expect the population also to increase. In time, the increased supply of labor will cause wages to decline. It may be seriously questioned whether the real wages of the working class in Puerto Rico have increased much since the American occupation. This condition may be true, it is maintained, despite the admitted improvements which have been made in health, education, and sanitation. On the island there is a general opinion that the condition of the agricultural worker may actually be worse today than it was in 1898. Apparently unemployment has become more persistent. Diffie states that unemployment has increased from seventeen percent of the working population in 1898, to about twenty-eight percent in 1920, and to thirty percent in 1930.³¹ This author raises a question as to whether or not there has been any improvement in the condition of the masses by calculating that the laborer spent 104 days of his year in 1928 paying for imported food as compared with about 70 days in 1897.³² Thus far, no adequate statistical study has been made which would show the changes which are taking place in real wages on the island. So great is the contrast between conditions at the time the United States took possession of the island and present conditions that it is doubtful that a satisfactory basis for comparison could be arrived at. All that is definitely known is that the worker

²⁹ R. C. Foerster, "Racial Problems Involved in the Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies," *Bulletin*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1925, p. 38. A good description of some of Puerto Rico's social problems of illegitimacy and homeless children is given by Helen V. Bary, "Child Welfare in the Insular Possessions of the United States," U. S. Dept. of Labor, Part 1, pp. 54-64.

³⁰ Clark, *op. cit.*, p. xxv.

³¹ Diffie, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

³² Diffie, *op. cit.*, pp. 176ff.

lived under extremely poor conditions in 1898 and continues to do so now.

The rate of growth which took place between 1930 and 1935 is of particular interest. During this period the island suffered one of the most destructive of the hurricanes which have occurred throughout its history, which caused considerable relief to be sent to the island. This was also the period in which the depth of the great depression occurred. When relief from Federal funds became general, as has been said, about eighty percent of the island's population was receiving aid of one form or another. In this period, however, we find the highest rate of growth in half a century. (See Table 2.) Such figures call to mind the prediction of Malthus with reference to the poor laws of England. Probably no one will ever prove the relation between relief and the growth in population, but the census for 1940 may bring out interesting data for speculation.

From what has been said of the lot of the masses in Puerto Rico, the need for political and social reforms is apparent. Although students of the island's economy realize that with conditions as they are the large-scale sugar production must be continued, the benefits from it could be given only to Puerto Ricans instead of to interests outside the island, and some sort of an equitable distribution of these benefits might increase the welfare of the masses. Even with reforms of this kind, however, it is regrettably true that any such increase in welfare will be greatly offset by the current growth in numbers.

Believing that over-population in England was the cause of poverty and suffering and that a mere change in social institutions would prove only an expedient, Malthus saw a preventive check as the only lasting solution to the population problem. Industrialization and emigra-

tion were to him only temporary measures. Any country which relied upon trade and imported its food, he thought to be in an unsafe and undesirable position.

Many plans have been proposed to remedy Puerto Rico's economic situation—among them, loans, revision of tariffs against the island, changes in the coastwise shipping law, and emigration. Desirable as all of these proposals may be for the Puerto Rican people, there may be some truth and reality in Malthus' teaching that in the end they would prove for the most part to be only temporary measures. For example, even if Puerto Rico were permitted to buy food in cheaper world markets, where possible, and continue to sell its sugar in a tariff-protected market, such a benefit might easily be offset in a few years by an additional growth in population. Emigration as a remedy for an over-dense population is as old as the study of population; yet, experience has not shown one instance where it was a lasting solution. It is granted, however, that to some extent it would relieve pressure.

The Puerto Rican, moreover, is faced with the greatest difficulties in migrating. So far it has not been possible to find a home for people of the lower economic class in any of the South American countries. Some of the neighboring islands are already densely populated, the standards of living are as low, if not lower in some instances than those found in Puerto Rico, and the Puerto Ricans are unable to compete with labor from Jamaica and Haiti. There is considerable evidence that Spanish-speaking countries in Central and South America prefer immigrants from Europe rather than from Puerto Rico. Although it is true that Puerto Ricans, under our present laws, may enter the United States without restriction, only a small group so far have been able

to migrate, and this migration has been almost entirely to the Harlem and Navy Yard sections of New York City.³³ Probably no other cultural group in New York City lives under more unfavorable conditions than do these migrants. Although many thousands may be expected in the course of time to come to the United States, the majority will be unable, because of poverty, to leave the island no matter how much more unfavorable the economic conditions may become.

As in the days of Godwin and Malthus, many Puerto Ricans see in political injustices the entire cause of their ills. A few years ago a movement for independence gained great force on the island. Granting that these injustices do exist, whatever truth there is in the law of diminishing returns as applied to an agricultural country such as Puerto Rico, which Malthus implied if he did not state clearly, will operate regardless of any political change. The most important truth which Malthus saw in his principle was that a mere change in social institutions will not prove to be a permanent solution if population continues to grow. Despite other modifications, Malthus adhered to this position to the end.

As time goes on the tenets of Malthu-

³³ I have discussed this migration in *The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City*, op. cit.

sianism may stand out more clearly. It is difficult to see how a population of perhaps one or two million more people can, within a relatively short time be superimposed on this small island economy. Malthus thought he saw this same condition facing England, but he was wrong. Any prediction as to the future condition of Puerto Rico may likewise be wrong. Some sort of synthetic food suitable for a tropical country may be developed. In spite of present indications, industrialization may actually take place in Puerto Rico. These forebodings of Malthusianism may fade away. Unless something of an unusual and unpredictable nature does occur, the problem of numbers and how to provide for them will have a profound influence upon the island and its people in the near future. Malthusianism in Puerto Rico is by no means proved; yet the logic of the island's dilemma seems clearly to be that assuming that no marked improvement can be made in agriculture and that a high state of industrialization is not possible, and also granting that most of its people are now on practically a subsistence level, the present rate of population growth must be slowed down by some lessening of the birth rate, or else disease, suffering, and a higher death rate will be more in evidence as positive checks against the increase in population now taking place.

PLANNING AND LOW-RENT HOUSING

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WESTERN civilization seems strongly motivated by a desire to achieve a standard of civilization that is higher than the one currently enjoyed.* This coveted improvement appears possible to some peoples only through military power. These peoples are willing to sacrifice bread for bullets, liberty for lebensraum, in return for possible achievements worthy of their national pride. Other nations have devoted their energies to more peaceful ends, seeking to enjoy freedom and economic security, though neglecting to prepare an adequate defense of these privileges. Most individuals as a part of this civilization hope to order their lives toward a happier future. The routes may be devious, the individual's sphere may be limited, and the ends still distant, but most individuals are yet aware that certain goals have been sought during their life times.

Planning in this general sense merely means that objectives have been projected and the approach anticipated to the best of the planner's ability. The effectiveness of this or any sort of planning depends upon the talent of the planner and the tools at his disposal. While it would be absurd for a day laborer to employ a staff of trained technicians to plan his personal finances and activities, it is equally stupid for governments and their agencies to ignore the possible

benefits that can be obtained from formal planning. Such planning is based squarely upon a realistic plan for achieving the desired ends. This sort of plan would envision the necessary techniques and organization before they are needed; it would integrate the elements of particular activities and coordinate them with other types of activities; and it would project the proposed action over a sufficiently long period of time. Even if the necessary allowance is made for errors in human judgment, there is little room for argument that the activities of American governments are but poorly integrated and coordinated at the present time. It is thus a platitude to suggest that low-rent housing, together with most public services, could make more effective use of public funds if these activities were thoroughly planned. Before presenting a general outline of possible planned assistance to low-rent housing and suggesting some minimum requirements of a plan for this type of housing, it would be well to point out that planning may be regarded from the viewpoint of at least two levels, functional levels and administrative levels.

LEVELS OF PLANNING

It is obviously true that the highest functional level of planning is a determination of the values of human conduct, i.e., planning the basic ideals, the philosophical concepts of individual and collective morality, and the social and economic ideology. These ideals are not planned by the state under a democratic form of government, rather the state is merely part of a larger scheme for achiev-

* This attempt to apply the principles of planning to low-rent housing is taken in part from the author's *Urban Low Rental Housing and Public Finance*, a Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1939.

ing the ideals common to individuals. Legislatures do not deliberately plan the social and economic ideology; they reflect the prevailing ideology. This is in direct contrast to the "planned economy" of totalitarian states which tends to place the determination of proper ideals in the hands of a dictator or a very few men. At the other end of the functional scale of planning is the preliminary step that must precede any attempt to formulate a realistic plan. This step is the gathering and analyzing of necessary data, and is logically followed by the engineering plans of individual projects, housing projects for example. The next higher functional level is the integration of all similar projects within some specialized field. The fourth level is then the planned coordination of many specialized fields so that integrated activities will supplement each other in a single plan of government action. It is on this fourth level that the financing of public services demands some sort of budgeting so that funds may be anticipated and allotted according to a predetermined need. These four levels of planning may be conveniently designated as administrative planning to distinguish them from that sort of planning which partakes more and more of the character befitting a "planned economy." Planning in the United States that rises above the level of administrative planning ceases to conform to the requirements of a realistic plan for the long run. It is for this reason that attention here is directed toward improving conditions as they are, rather than building Ivory Towers for low-rent housing.

Turning now to the possible levels of government on which functional planning may take place, it is only necessary to point out that these are the familiar national, state, and local units. Mention

should be made of the national region that is intermediary between nation and state, as well as the metropolitan region which takes its boundaries from the influence of urban centers. A relatively microscopic area, the neighborhood, also has a useful place among the administrative levels of planning. Any given public service can thus be planned on all four functional levels, as well as on different administrative levels.

PLANNING LOW-RENT HOUSING

The application of planning theory to low-rent housing involves at least two major steps that include all four functional levels of administrative planning. The first step is the preliminary one of analyzing and forecasting housing trends, while the second step is the preparation of a plan which includes developing techniques and organization as well as providing the necessary financial assistance.

Analyzing and forecasting housing trends. The analysis and forecasting of housing trends are the woof and warp around which the fabric of housing plans must be woven. Analysis implies the critical investigation of affairs as they are, while forecasting inquires what changes may be expected. Data that are necessary for planners of low-rent housing include a knowledge of the population, with its changes in growth and geographical distribution, as well as changes in the size and composition of the family. Planners must also be appraised of consumer tastes in housing, purchasing power and its distribution, and customary family expenditures for shelter. Some European and much United States PWA housing demonstrates either ignorance of what families of low income can afford, or stupid and extravagant disregard of these limits. The pattern and changes in residential, industrial, and commercial land

usage will likewise have to be investigated to determine the most satisfactory location for housing projects and their reconstructed environment. Real property inventories and studies of the cost and distribution of public services are essential in determining the need for housing and the public cost of poorer housing. The city of Boston, for example, has sufficient data on which to base a reasonable conclusion about the comparative costs of public services in slum and nonslum areas. The plausible arguments that these costs will tend to decline due to the effect of better housing on health and behavior patterns would be more palatable to the public if such assertions were garnished with a few appetizing statistics. If the point of departure is unknown, certainly there is reason to doubt the claim of distance traveled. Analyzing and forecasting housing trends merely lay the foundation, and this may best be accomplished with at least federal supervision in order to render the data comparable. While the 1940 census promises to contain several new sorts of information that will be valuable to the planners of low-rent housing, cities and states will have to supplement available data to obtain an adequate basis for widespread housing activities. Since these lower administrative levels are to be the direct beneficiaries of low-rent housing, it is only fair that they bear the larger part of the cost of such additional data. It cannot be overstressed that careful investigation on this lowest functional level will strengthen the assurance that can be placed upon the ensuing plan.

Preparing a Plan: (1) Developing Techniques and Organization. The process of preparing a plan for low-rent housing may be conveniently divided into two general categories: developing the tech-

niques and organization, and providing the financial assistance. Land usage, construction, social rehabilitation, and administration are the four important elements of planning techniques and organization. The most beneficial land usage requires consideration of how to utilize the site of a particular housing project and where to locate this site in a given city or town. There is implied some reasonable solution of the problem of these two types of sites: relatively high priced land where slum dwellers are now concentrated, and relatively low priced land farther from the workers' place of employment. The more lasting solution to this problem is rehousing on the former slum sites in associated groups large enough to be called a neighborhood. If private enterprise will undertake *neighborhood* rehabilitation, then there is good reason to rehouse the lower income groups on cheaper land while the former slum sites are being utilized by the higher income groups. Land-use planning is thus a problem in itself, and it is being approached in a piece-meal manner in all but a few American cities. There also remains for consideration the equally difficult task of coordinating this plan of land usage with zoning ordinances, parks and playgrounds, service and transportation utilities, and the possible decentralization of industry.

Techniques and materials for the construction of low-rent housing are better developed than systematic land usage, for both private industry and public agencies have made remarkable strides in providing new materials or better adaptations of commonly used materials. Channels of distribution, however, are sorely inadequate. One of the functions of housing agencies is to experiment and develop construction materials independently and in cooperation with private

enterprise. A very important choice must be made between less durable materials that yield more houses, and more durable materials that yield fewer though better dwellings. Partial mobility of dwelling units is another factor to be considered, and one that may enhance the value of public investment in housing. Too little experimenting has been done in the United States with cheap and partially prefabricated housing; hence it is a premature conclusion that the present standards of material are the most suitable. Labor as well as materials must be considered by the planner of housing. The relatively high hourly wages in the construction trades present a challenge to the planner who is trying to make the public dollar go as far as possible. England and Sweden found that more employment at lower hourly wages were very acceptable in lieu of highly seasonal employment at better hourly wages. Jobs that are standardized on minimum-efficiency levels and the more overt construction rackets have for some time needed reform in the direction of freer competition. Need for coordination of private and public housing activities is as apparent in the field of labor problems as in the field of construction materials. Furthermore, certain restrictive measures are necessary in all communities in order to prevent fraudulent and insanitary building practices. Greater simplicity of codes and more basic uniformity is unquestionably desirable, but this planning will probably continue disorganized due to legal barriers and inertia.

In addition to planning for the most advantageous land usage and construction standards, it is necessary to plan for the social rehabilitation of those rehoused. The first task is to develop some plan of tenant selection in order to secure the most beneficial use of public funds.

Minimum planning here requires at least income and rent restrictions. The maximum-income restrictions must be set low enough to exclude those able to pay higher rents and to prevent direct competition with private enterprise, while the minimum-income restrictions must be set high enough to assure the projects of a partially self-liquidating character. Rent restrictions guarantee that the public housing shall actually be low-rent housing. When these plans have been made, there remains the more important task of providing the techniques and organization for tenant education. It is regrettable encouragement to the "coal-in-the-bath-tub" school of housing to move former slum dwellers into housing projects without benefit of education and orientation. Such supervision implies a corps of previously trained social workers who can teach these tenants the use of their new environment, and secure their cooperation. But this is only the first step, since the poorer health and behavior patterns of slum dwellers clearly indicate the need for physical and social rehabilitation.

The crucial issue in low-rent housing is whether the health and social behavior of former slum dwellers will be improved under their new environment, and if so, how much. Low-rent housing cannot be justified, except as public charity, unless there is an improvement in health and social behavior commensurate with the public subsidy. Public housing officials are prone to speak of low-rent housing in this regard as a *fait accompli*, but until more positive evidence is presented on health and behavior, the success of low-rent housing cannot be resolved. The improvement of health and behavior patterns calls for the coordination of low-rent housing with the various public and private social agencies. Such coordination must begin in the cities and can

profitably spread to state and national levels.

Selection of proper administrative units is the fourth and last step in the planning of techniques and organization for low-rent housing. Housing projects are essentially local in nature; hence it is desirable that local control be early established. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the city is not the lowest level of government on which planning can be profitably undertaken. Experiments with neighborhood units indicate the desirability of creating neighborhood authority to resist the encroachments of slum and blighted conditions. This is a particularly necessary assurance to private enterprise if it is to complement public efforts in eliminating those conditions. Certain financial privileges can also be granted to quasi-public housing bodies such as limited dividend corporations and housing cooperatives. It is essential that a local housing authority be created to administer local public housing activities and to supervise quasi-public housing bodies. Integration of the lower administrative levels by state housing and planning bodies should improve the general efficiency of both higher and lower levels. Supervision by the federal housing agency can further enhance administrative techniques and organization, due to the widespread experience of the federal agency. While the United States Housing Authority has done most of the planning of low-rent housing, it is desirable that the flow of ideas and authority be equalized in the direction suggested, after the local authorities have gained more experience. In addition to these administrative units already mentioned, the metropolitan region and the national region have a place among the units of planning for low-rent housing. Their function is advisory and they are definite

steps toward integrated administrative planning.

The planning of land usage, construction, social rehabilitation, and units of administrative control has been discussed without special reference to any particular functional level of planning. It must be apparent, however, that these types of activities can be planned on the second, third, and fourth functional levels. It was pointed out that the analysis and forecasting of housing trends occupies the first level of administrative planning. Engineering plans of individual housing projects belong to the second level. These plans must consider not only the physical, but the social welfare of those affected by the low-rent housing. These plans of the second level can then be integrated into a master plan for a single specialized field. The process of such integration occupies the third functional level of planning, and the result is an internally consistent plan for all low-rent housing. The more difficult task then follows. It is the fitting of a comprehensive low-rent housing plan into the general administrative plan. This fourth, and highest level of administrative planning implies that the functions of low-rent housing are integrated with other public services such as recreation, health and sanitation, education, zoning, streets and highways, transportation, and others. All functional levels are thus included in planning the techniques and organization for low-rent housing.

(2) *Providing the Financial Assistance.* In order to complete the plan for low-rent housing, at least one other very important element must be considered. Analyzing and forecasting housing trends together with developing techniques and organization are merely academic exercises without some realistic plan for providing financial assistance. There are three main prob-

lems to be considered in planning this assistance to low-rent housing: the amount of the aid, the division of responsibility for raising the funds, and the methods of granting the assistance. The amount of public funds that will be expended for low-rent housing depends upon the need, the ability and willingness of the public to pay the bill, and the demonstrated success of low-rent housing in combating the ills it is designed to remedy. The need for low-rent housing is closely related to the ability and willingness of the public to bear the expenses, because need is a relative concept that is determined with reference to the standard of living. The wise planner will therefore measure need by a standard of living that is not far removed from the standard of living enjoyed by those who must pay the bill. Extravagant claims of need by public officials and reformers show their tenderness of heart—a wholly admirable quality—but are a sad commentary on their willingness to be realistic. It is plausible to suppose that the USHA experiment in low-rent housing will demonstrate the degree to which such housing can be expected to improve health and social behavior. After definite conclusions have been reached, it will be logical to grant additional sums in proportion to the actual degree of improvement.

Division of responsibility must be integrated with the amount of financial assistance to be given low-rent housing. Since public housing benefits the local community most directly, it follows that heavy financial responsibility should be imposed upon the municipalities. This is not only just, but furnishes a stronger motive for the economical operation of the housing projects by the local authorities. The responsibility of the metropolitan region, the state, and the nation is likewise manifest, though in a diminish-

ing degree. It is true, however, that national governments throughout the world have had to take the initiative as well as furnish the greatest share of the financial assistance to housing. This is a consequence of war and depression. Public housing received its greatest impetus throughout the world during periods of economic and political emergency, when the resources of national governments appeared the only ones strong enough to bear the added burden. It is desirable, nevertheless, that states and cities bear a proportionately larger financial responsibility as the scope of low-rent housing is widened. If the amount of aid and the division of responsibility have been anticipated, there still remains to be considered the methods of supplying this assistance.

These methods include five types of aid: tax exemptions, funds, land, materials, and labor. Tax exemptions involve no direct outlay by the public, but neither are they burdenless. The danger in widespread use of tax exemptions is that their burden may easily escape the careful consideration that is given other proposals that require disbursing a given sum. Most American cities are today overburdened with tax exempt property and ready to clean the slate of such exemptions. Tax exemption for low-rent housing is justified only as a temporary expedient, and there is much need of coordinating this sort of financial assistance with overt public expenditure.

The provision of funds for low-rent housing is the financial field in which the planner will find most need for his talent. Funds may be supplied as non-repayable grants or as loans. Grants are of two different types: lump sum grants given as capital donations, and periodic grants supplied as annuities for current expenses. Lump sum grants have been

found to be immediately stimulating, but are a severe financial drain that frequently lines the pockets of enterprising builders. Such grants may also be made retrospectively, as for example when PWA housing loans were written off for at least forty-five percent of the original investment. Such large write-offs are obviously due to poor planning, and the most that can be said for any type of lump sum grant is that, if no other aid is feasible, a lump sum grant is better than no aid at all. The other type of grant, an annuity, is a much keener-edged tool. Annuities make possible continuous supervision over the use of funds granted by one administrative level for use on a second level, and they spread the burden of cost over a period of years. Detracting somewhat from these advantages are the costs of administration and the possibility that funds being counted upon by local authorities will be cut off by nation or state. Such annuities may be fixed or variable, but if they are variable, some flexibility must be sacrificed to protect local authorities from drastic decreases and higher administrative units from drastic increases. European experience in public housing indicates that the low-rent character of the housing is best maintained by annuities to the local authorities.

These annuities, however, are most effective when integrated with some system of public loans. Such loans to builders of low-rent housing have long occupied the foremost position in programs of public assistance to housing. Experience justifies their importance to planners. The superior credit of national and state governments usually permits them to loan funds at lower interest rates, with longer maturities, and for a larger percentage of the costs of proposed projects. As long as these terms do not involve a loss to the lender, the extension of credit

is merely a loan and not a loan plus an implicit subsidy. It is convenient for planners who wish to present the true state of affairs to the public, to have segregated current housing expenses under "annual subsidies" and credit for capital improvements under "loans." Subsidies may be concealed in too liberal terms granted the borrowers, but there are several ways to reduce the likelihood of such implicit subsidies. In the first place, the interest charged the borrowers should not be less than the administrative costs of lending plus the going rate of interest which has to be paid by the lenders. Secondly, maturities should not be extended beyond the useful life of the proposed project; and lastly, coverages should leave a percentage of cost to be raised by the borrower equal at least to the likely percentage decline in the price level of consumers' goods. Predicting the price level for fifty or more years is denied ordinary mortals; so some subsidy or profit may be involved unless the loan contract permits an elasticity of terms during the life of the project. Loans for bona-fide low-rent housing have tended to be about fifty percent self-liquidating, annuities being granted so the borrowers can meet the full interest and amortization payments.

While the methods of distributing these funds require careful planning, just as minute attention must be given the methods of raising the funds. It is a sound fiscal maxim that ordinary expenditures should be financed by taxation, while self-liquidating and emergency expenditures may be financed by borrowing. Since low-rent housing has gradually become part of the services rendered by governments in different parts of the world, it is well to regard current expenditures for such purposes as "ordinary" in the sense that they are regularly re-

curing. It is thus an advantage to have segregated the explicit and implicit annual subsidies into one account. If this has been done carefully, it is perfectly sound finance to borrow the capital funds, but it must be remembered that the public housing agencies are both bankers and social agencies. It is the hand of social service spending annual sums for rent relief, that fills the banker's pocket and makes his loans self-liquidating.

These plans for supplying actual funds for low-rent housing may be integrated with plans for furnishing land, materials, and labor. Sites for low-rent housing that are purchased decades ahead of their expected use, cost much less than ripe land, since speculative gains can thus be eliminated. If these purchases involve land for purposes other than low-rent housing, then there is need of coordination of low-rent housing within this wider land usage program. The Scandinavian countries and Germany have had a satisfactory experience providing sites for workingmen's dwellings in advance of the need. The planner in the United States is however confronted with a more difficult problem of keeping such transactions free from graft, and, like the provision of materials and labor, the remedy may be found to be worse than the disease. Central purchasing of materials by a municipality could create a distinct saving due to larger volumes and steadier flows, although this would involve a disruption of the present private channels of distribution. If, in addition, the local authorities employed laborers who were on the payroll of their own or some other political division, the divorce of private enterprise from low-rent housing would be very nearly complete. The Housing Division of PWA undertook the actual construction of housing projects, and its record is sufficiently gloomy to indicate the rela-

tive merits of private enterprise. Some exceptions can be made, for a rapidly expanding community is justified in buying land ahead of its use for housing, and particularly efficient local governments should be permitted central purchases of materials. In general, nevertheless, it is more realistic to place heaviest reliance upon grants and loans as the chief source of financial assistance to low-rent housing.

When the amount of the financial assistance, the division of responsibility, and the method of supplying the assistance have been anticipated in detail, the financial plan for low-rent housing will be nearly complete. But there are other government services, many of greater importance than housing, which also require public appropriations. Preparing the budget and voting its approval offers an opportunity to weigh the specific advantages of different services. It is upon this highest functional level in national affairs that planners must coordinate low-rent housing and urban credit. Urban credit that permits private enterprise to supply housing to increasingly lower income groups is a service complementary to low-rent housing. The Federal Housing Administration with its mortgage insurance, the Federal Home Loan Bank System with its many lending agencies, and the USHA are actually striving for the common goal of supplying more people with better housing. This relationship seems but dimly perceived by the national government. There also remains the problem of coordinating expenditures for low-rent housing with different phases of the business cycle. Plans must exist for specific housing projects in particular localities if these public expenditures are to be made at the beginning of the downturn in prosperity. Such plans to date have been nebulous and will probably

continue in that state until the art of planning is recognized and developed.

SUMMARY

Planning for low-rent housing is thus more than a simple legislative act that demonstrates good public intentions. Planning involves the gathering and analysis of data relevant to low-rent housing and the forecasting of trends from this data. It implies the formulation of a realistic plan for developing the techniques and organization that will translate good intentions into dwellings that are effectively located, well and efficiently constructed, consistently supervised in the interests of better health and improved social behavior, and administered by appropriate units of control. This plan also includes a certain amount of financial assistance that is supplied by different administrative levels, and distributed by methods which are stimulating yet economical. The work of integrating these plans is the task of housing officials, while coordinating the plans will be most effectively accomplished by housing officials and directors of other related activities. Low-rent housing under the USHA

is operating on the functional level of an integrated engineering plan for specific housing projects. There is a minimum of coordination with other activities on any administrative level, and, even if housing officials did their utmost, coordination would still be impossible without the cooperation of other agencies and the existence of some planning body which has knowledge of all government activities. Due credit should be given for the excellent work of the USHA, because both the quality of work and organization compare favorably to those in countries which have had many more years of experience.

It is clear, however, that planning in the formal sense must await public recognition of the desirability and need for such planning. It cannot be too emphatically stated that government activities are no longer simple but tremendously complex. Materiel as well as personnel are not engendered over night; hence our amiable "muddling through" must soon be replaced by administrative planning. The alternative is an ever increasing share of the national dividend frittered away on the wastes of unplanned services.

A REMINDER

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

As reported in the December SOCIAL FORCES on page 218, the Southern Sociological Society will hold its sixth annual meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, April 4-5, 1941, with headquarters at the Biltmore Hotel. President B. O. Williams promises an interesting program and announces that the final program, together with instructions for reservations, will be mailed to the members within a few days.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE GROWING SOUTH

T. J. WOOFER, JR.

Washington, D. C.

THE population increases from 1930 to 1940 reflect significant changes in the southern regions¹ and provide clues for studies of basic importance to be made as the full results of the census become available.

Instead of exporting a large part of its natural increase as it did from 1920 to 1930, the South held a substantial proportion of its people in the 1930's adding nearly 3½ million inhabitants. Heavy losses from some areas were almost offset by gains elsewhere. In the Southeast, substantial gains in Virginia and Florida were offset by slight losses from other States, so that the Southeast (including Washington, D. C.) barely changed by interregional movement.

The urban² increase in the South (14.8 percent) was nearly three times as rapid as the national urban increase. The

rural and town increase in the South was somewhat slower than the national average. This meant a net gain of over one million³ people in southern cities by migration from rural areas. Table I shows the increases, by States, in cities of 10,000 and over and outside of these cities. States are also subdivided by cultural regions.⁴

Regionally, the increases outside of cities are shown in Table II. In case of regions which overlap the southern and other States, only those sections of the region within the southern States are shown.

The regions partially within the South are:

EASTERN MIDWEST: (Three counties in Kentucky. Suburban to Cincinnati) which were stationary.

FREE SOIL: (A few counties in northern Kentucky. One county in Oklahoma). This increase is practically all suburban to Louisville and in small towns.

NORTH-SOUTH BORDER: (Central Kentucky and Tennessee with four counties in northwest Arkansas). Part of this in-

¹ Including Washington, D. C.

² For list of counties in these regions, cf. A. R. Mangus, *Rural Regions in the United States* (WPA Bulletin, 1940), Appendix, pp. 198-230.

¹ Southern regions or the "South" in this article correspond to Odum's southeast and southwest: Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.

² "Urban" in this article refers to cities of 10,000 and over. This approximates the Census "urban" since only 5 percent of the population is in towns of 2,500 to 10,000. The rate of increase in these small towns was somewhat more rapid than in the large cities.

TABLE I
POPULATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1930 AND INCREASE 1930-1940^(a)
(In thousands)

STATE AND REGION	CITIES OF 10,000 AND OVER		OUTSIDE OF CITIES	
	1930	Increase	1930	Increase
TOTAL	8,402	1,244	26,231	1,100
Alabama	580	62	2,067	122
Eastern Old South	512	52	1,960	102
Coastal Plain	68	10	107	20
Arizona	81	22	355	41
South Arizona	81	22	302	26
Mexican-Indian	—	—	53	15
Arkansas	211	17	1,643	77
North-South Border	—	—	105	3
Ozark	52	6	367	18
Western Old South	138	10	787	23
Delta	21	1	384	33
Florida	597	209	873	201
Eastern Old South	11	5	104	6
Coastal Plain	349	88	537	79
South Florida	237	116	232	116
Georgia	700	95	2,208	116
Coastal Plain	115	12	118	8
Eastern Old South	585	83	2,009	97
Appalachian	—	—	81	11
Kentucky	591	26	2,024	199
Appalachian	40	2	836	127
North-South Border	114	7	854	50
Free Soil	342	20	252	21
Eastern Midwest	95	—3	82	1
Louisiana	677	82	1,424	172
Eastern Old South	—	—	28	1
Coastal Plain	14	*	37	7
French	522	49	609	97
Delta	—	—	103	16
Western Old South	141	33	647	51
Mississippi	227	45	1,782	127
Eastern Old South	104	22	1,146	101
Coastal Plain	64	10	178	20
Delta	59	13	458	6
New Mexico	50	30	374	75
Southern Great Plains	—	—	53	2
Mexican-Indian	38	18	197	48
Border	12	12	105	24
Southern Arizona	—	—	19	1
North Carolina	636	103	2,535	290
Coastal Plain	33	1	87	18
Central Colonial	22	1	154	5
Eastern Old South	531	100	2,011	223
Appalachian	50	1	283	44

TABLE I—*Concluded*

STATE AND REGION	CITIES OF 10,000 AND OVER		OUTSIDE OF CITIES	
	1930	Increase	1930	Increase
Oklahoma.....	597	44	1,799	-109
Ozark.....	44	2	369	31
Cattle Trails.....	60	10	552	-62
Central Kansas-Oklahoma.....	467	30	680	-56
Southern Great Plains.....	26	2	159	-19
Free Soil.....	—	—	39	-3
South Carolina.....	244	45	1,495	122
Coastal Plain.....	62	9	216	36
Eastern Old South.....	182	36	1,279	86
Tennessee.....	730	80	1,887	215
Appalachian.....	155	11	741	113
Eastern Old South.....	151	12	450	40
North-South Border.....	171	19	643	49
Delta.....	253	38	53	13
Texas.....	1,841	317	3,984	277
Western Old South.....	568	129	1,448	192
Rio Grande Gulf.....	407	102	777	77
Border.....	102	-6	210	33
Cattle Trails.....	710	81	1,412	-21
Southern Great Plains.....	54	11	137	-4
Virginia.....	640	67	1,781	175
Central Colonial.....	478	52	779	69
Alleghany.....	132	2	361	34
Appalachian.....	—	—	406	64
Eastern Old South.....	30	13	235	8

* Less than 1,000.

(a) From Preliminary Census releases subject to revision.

crease is village and small town but some is increase in poor land farming.

OZARKS-OUACHITA: (Northwest Arkansas, eastern Oklahoma). This increase is largely in poor land and part-time farming.

NORTH-CENTRAL OKLAHOMA: The decrease reflects the rise of tractor farming and at the same time the exhaustion of the Oklahoma-Kansas oil field.

SOUTHWEST GREAT PLAINS: (Panhandle of Texas and Oklahoma, eastern New Mexico). The 5 percent decrease represents the loss in the South's portion of the Dust Bowl.

NAVAJO-MEXICAN: (Northeastern New Mexico, northwestern Arizona). The

rapid increase reflects the high birth rates of the Indian and Spanish-American subsistence farmers.

ALLEGHANY: The Alleghany sections of Virginia exhibited a slow increase, mostly in the Shenandoah Valley.

APPALACHIAN: (Southwestern Virginia, western North Carolina, northern Georgia, western Tennessee, and western Kentucky). This region had a numerical increase of over 350,000 and one of the most rapid rates of increase. This is mostly a rural increase, much of it on poor lands and farms of inadequate size. Most of the rapid natural increase was retained with a net back-to-the-farm movement in some counties.

Regions wholly within the South: agricultural area, the Textile Upper Piedmont, and the Birmingham mining area. The agricultural portions of south-central

TABLE II
RURAL AND TOWN POPULATION 1930, AND INCREASE 1930-1940 BY CULTURAL REGIONS OF THE SOUTH
(In thousands)

REGION	1930	INCREASE	PERCENT INCREASE
Total	26,231	2,100	8.0
*Eastern Midwest: Three northern Kentucky counties	82	1	1.0
*Free Soil: Northern Kentucky, 1 county Oklahoma	291	18	6.6
*North-South Border: Central Kentucky, central Tennessee, northwestern Arkansas	1,602	102	6.4
*Ozark-Ouachita: Northwestern Arkansas; eastern Oklahoma	736	49	6.7
*Central Oklahoma-Kansas: Oklahoma part	680	-56	-8.3
*Southwest Great Plains: Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Dust Bowl	349	-21	-6.0
*Navajo-Mexican: New Mexico and Arizona	250	63	25.1
*Alleghany: Northwestern Virginia	361	34	9.5
*Appalachian: Southwestern Virginia, eastern Kentucky, Tennessee, western North Carolina, and northern Georgia	2,347	359	15.0
*Central Colonial: Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia, northeastern North Carolina	933	74	8.0
Eastern Old South, Agricultural: Southwest Virginia, central North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, east Mississippi and west Tennessee	6,110	282	4.6
Eastern Old South, Textile Piedmont: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, eastern central Alabama	2,650	342	12.9
Birmingham, Alabama Mining	462	42	9.0
Delta: East Arkansas, Louisiana, western Mississippi, one county in Tennessee	998	68	6.8
Western Plantation: Central Arkansas, eastern Louisiana, and eastern Texas	2,882	266	9.2
Texas-Oklahoma Cattle Trails: North central Texas and south central Oklahoma	1,964	-83	-4.2
Atlantic Gulf Coast Plain: Coast of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, northern Florida, western Florida, gulf coast Alabama, Mississippi, and two counties in Louisiana	1,280	186	14.4
South Florida	232	116	50.1
South Louisiana	609	97	15.9
Rio Grande Gulf: Southeast Texas	777	77	9.9
New Mexico-Texas Border	315	57	18.1
Arizona Border	321	27	8.4

* Region partially within the South.

North Carolina). Most of the increase of this region was suburban to Washington and Richmond.

EASTERN PLANTATION: The Eastern Cotton Area can be divided into a purely

Virginia, central and eastern North Carolina, central South Carolina, central Georgia, central Alabama, eastern Mississippi, and west Tennessee had a sluggish rate of increase. Of the 280,000 increase

in these areas over 100,000 was in the poor lands of the eastern Mississippi ridge and in north Alabama where the Tennessee valley development is stimulating rural and town industry. Still over 150,000 people were added to the old "black belt" in spite of the reduced cotton and tobacco acreage and some shift to tractor farming. The Textile Piedmont section (extending from Danville, Virginia to Opelika, Alabama) had one of the most rapid rates of increase (12.9 percent), adding 342,000 to its population. This is probably the result both of the extension of textile towns and villages and of family size farming. This area received some in-migration. Birmingham mining area. This increase of 9 percent was largely suburban and rural nonfarm, and represents mainly the retention of the natural increase.

DELTA: (Western Mississippi, eastern Arkansas, eastern Louisiana, and one county in Tennessee). The 7 percent increase in the Delta was made up of a 2 percent increase on the well-developed Mississippi side of the river and an increase of over 10 percent on the Louisiana and Arkansas side where there has been considerable new settlement of newly cleared and newly drained land. Population pressure in these areas has been indexed by a severe relief problem.

WESTERN PLANTATION: (Central Arkansas, western Louisiana, eastern Texas). Again, in spite of reduced acreage and mechanization, the western cotton area increased by over 10 percent. Some of this was in the growing east Texas oil field and in some small towns and suburbs of the growing cities of the region, but there was probably also additional crowding on the cotton farms.

TEXAS-OKLAHOMA CATTLE TRAILS: (North central Texas, south central Oklahoma). The decrease of 83,000 in

this region reflects the spread of the tractor and droughts of the decade. This is the center of the region of migratory labor to the West Coast.

ATLANTIC GULF COAST PLAIN: (From Wilmington, North Carolina south to central Florida, and west to Louisiana). Presents another increase of nearly 200,000 in a poor farming area. A small part of this was suburban to Jacksonville, Tampa, and Mobile, but much of it was in closer settlement of the sandy lands.

SOUTH FLORIDA: Grew more rapidly than any region of the country (50 percent). While most of this was in recreation areas, the region also had some increase in truck farmers and has acquired a serious migratory labor problem.

SOUTH LOUISIANA: Another increase of over 15 percent was registered in the already densely populated French Louisiana region.

RIO GRANDE GULF (southeast Texas): The Mexican-American population of southeastern Texas increased nearly 10 percent, largely in the suburbs of San Antonio and Austin, but to some extent in floating partially employed farm laborers.

NEW MEXICO-TEXAS BORDER: The high Mexican birth rate and lack of migration is reflected in the 18 percent increase.

ARIZONA BORDER: The 27,000 increase in southern and western Arizona sections represented a rate of about 8 percent.

SUMMARY

1. The South as a whole has lost very slightly by migration in the decade.
2. The urban South has gained over a million from the rural South.
3. For the most part, substantial increases have occurred in the suburbs of cities representing a growth of residential areas and some part-time farming, and in the small towns and villages represent-

ing to some extent the floating labor supply on the fringe of agriculture.

4. The rural industrial areas have had substantial increases especially the textile towns and villages.

5. The tractor and drought ridden counties of Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico have lost heavily. The high birth rate areas of the purely agricultural sections of the Southeast retained part of their natural increase. This represents a considerable increase of family sized farming in poor land or in new areas and considerable increase in home farm workers and in partially employed casual laborers who shift from farm to village and town employment as the opportunity is presented.

6. The agricultural system of certain sections could not adequately support the 1930 population and an adjustment would have required an actual decrease in farm residents or a radical change in the system. This decrease has not occurred in any wide area except the extreme western portions affected by drought and

tractor farming. Elsewhere subregional rural and town increases have ranged from 2 percent (in the Mississippi portion of the Delta) to 50 percent (in South Florida). On the other hand, certain adjustments of agriculture to population have occurred. The South's proportion of the Nation's income from crops and livestock has risen slightly from 26 percent in 1929 to 29 percent in 1938. The income data of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics indicate a marked increase in income from livestock and live-at-home farming, and over 200,000 farm families have been started back to self-sufficiency by loans and instructions from the Farm Security Administration. In addition, there was an increase of a million and one half customers in southern cities during the decade of the 1930's.

This mutual adjustment of population and the agricultural system evidently has much farther to go and since population changes have been so uneven it warrants intensive study in each local area.

A SYSTEM OF ATTITUDE EXPERIMENTS

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THIS paper briefly proposes a new approach in the study of attitudes, consisting of a series of subjectively experimental situations in which factors are introduced and removed, and the effects on attitudes noted.

Problems adapted to this kind of investigation seem to be many and important. For example, one might inquire into the circumstances under which American proprietors would and would not employ a Jew. Through such a study one might discover what factors are

responsible for anti-Jewish sentiment, and validate them against the practice of the business world. In the present instance, solely to illustrate the technique, we have inquired into the situations in which 164 undergraduate students at the University of Wisconsin in 1939-1940 said they would and would not drink alcoholic beverages. The four factors of sociability, taste, despondency, and sex were chosen for initial testing. When some of these were found to be unimportant, other factors could have been substituted and

the experiments continued, although we did not do this. The following schedule was set up, consisting of $(2)^4 = 16$ situations that include all possible combinations of the four factors mentioned in their positive and negative forms. If 5 factors had been taken, there would have been $(2)^5 = 32$ combinations, and so on. It is well to use no more than four factors at a time, because the task of checking 16 situations and holding in mind how one differs from another is as much as should be required of most subjects.

SCHEDULE¹

Directions: Eight pairs of situations are presented below. Each situation consists of four statements. You are asked to weigh the implications of each statement and then check (✓) "I would drink" or "I would not drink" as your response to the total situation. Notice that the second situation in each pair differs from the first only in the last statement.

1ST PAIR

Situation (1)

IF: I was not despondent,
I did not like the liquor,
My companions were drinking, and
I was not with a date,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

Situation (2)

IF: I was not despondent,
I did not like the liquor,
My companions were drinking, and
My date was present,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

2ND PAIR

Situation (1)

IF: My companions were not drinking,
My date was present,
I did not like the liquor, and
I was despondent,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

¹ The schedule is reproduced as actually given rather than condensed to tabular form.

Situation (2)

IF: My companions were not drinking,
My date was present,
I did not like the liquor, and
I was not despondent,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

3RD PAIR

Situation (1)

IF: My companions were drinking,
I was despondent,
My date was present, and
I liked the liquor,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

Situation (2)

IF: My companions were drinking,
I was despondent,
My date was present, and
I did not like the liquor,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

4TH PAIR

Situation (1)

IF: I was not despondent,
I liked the liquor,
My companions were drinking, and
My date was present,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

Situation (2)

IF: I was not despondent,
I liked the liquor,
My companions were drinking, and
I was not with a date,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

5TH PAIR

Situation (1)

IF: I was not with a date,
My companions were not drinking,
I was not despondent, and
I did not like the liquor,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

Situation (2)

IF: I was not with a date,
My companions were not drinking,
I was not despondent, and
I liked the liquor,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

6TH PAIR

Situation (1)

- IF: My companions were not drinking,
I was with a date,
I liked the liquor, and
I was despondent,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

Situation (2)

- IF: My companions were not drinking,
I was with a date,
I liked the liquor, and
I was not despondent.

I would not drink —
I would drink —

7TH PAIR

Situation (1)

- IF: I was not with a date,
I liked the liquor,
I was despondent, and
My companions were drinking.

I would not drink —
I would drink —

Situation (2)

- IF: I was not with a date,
I liked the liquor,
I was despondent, and
My companions were not drinking.

I would not drink —
I would drink —

8TH PAIR

Situation (1)

- IF: I was despondent,
I was not with a date,
I did not like the liquor, and
My companions were drinking,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

Situation (2)

- IF: I was despondent,
I was not with a date,
I did not like the liquor, and
My companions were not drinking,

I would not drink —
I would drink —

In addition to checking the schedule above, the subject was asked to give such general information as his sex, grade-point average in the University, church membership, Y. M. C. A. or Y. W. C. A. affiliation, membership in a fraternity or

sorority, place of family residence, how recently he had drunk alcohol and in what form, whether or not he got intoxicated at the time, whether or not he would have voted for the sale of hard liquor in Madison, and his class in college.

The schedule was tried out on a number of students before it was mimeographed, to detect any serious discrepancies in interpretation. The internal consistency of the data obtained was taken as evidence of validity (e.g., see Table I).

The principal findings are exhibited in Table II. A positive factor is indicated by a plus sign and a negative factor by a minus sign. A factor is positive if it occurs in affirmative form: "My com-

TABLE I
DRINKING COEFFICIENTS* CLASSIFIED BY TIME
SINCE LAST DRINK AND BY SEX OF SUBJECTS

	TIME OF LAST DRINK			
	Week	Month	Year	Never
Total.....	.44	.16	.20	.07
Males.....	.46	.17	.19	.06
Females.....	.38	.16	.21	.09

* Percentage of total situations marked "I would drink" by subjects.

panions were drinking," "I was despondent," "I liked the liquor," "My date was present." A factor is negative if it reads "My companions were not drinking," and so on. It will suffice to mention only a few of the inferences that may be drawn from this table.

When all four factors were negative, as in Situation 9 at the top of the table, 3 percent of the students checked "I would drink;" whereas when all four factors were positive, as in Situation 5 at the bottom of the table, 76 percent checked "I would drink." The effect of changing all of the four factors from negative to positive, with no other factors present, was therefore to increase by

73 the percentage of students who said depending on the particular combination that they would drink.² of factors. For example, in Situation 13

TABLE II
SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL RESULTS

SITUATION NO. ³	FACTOR POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE				PROPORTION OF SUBJECTS CHECKING "I WOULD DRINK." ⁴		
	Soc. ¹	Sex ²	Desp. ³	Taste ⁴	Total	Males	Females
9	—	—	—	—	.03	.04	.02
1	+	—	—	—	.18	.24	.08
4	—	+	—	—	.05	.04	.06
16	—	—	+	—	.05	.08	.02
10	—	—	—	+	.20	.27	.10
2	+	+	—	—	.24	.23	.25
15	+	—	+	—	.19	.23	.13
8	+	—	—	+	.73	.77	.67
3	—	+	+	—	.05	.05	.06
12	—	+	—	+	.17	.23	.08
14	—	—	+	+	.19	.27	.06
6	+	+	+	—	.22	.20	.25
7	+	+	—	+	.74	.66	.86
13	+	—	+	+	.74	.77	.70
11	—	+	+	+	.23	.26	.19
5	+	+	+	+	.76	.69	.84

1. "My companions were (not) drinking."

2. "My date was (not) present."

3. "I was (not) despondent."

4. "I liked (did not like) the liquor."

5. Situation 9, for example, is situation (1) of the 5th pair.

Increasing the number of positive factors did not always increase the percentage of "I would drink's," however, the result

² The usual tests to measure students' attitudes toward drinking alcohol if condensed to dichotomous form would show the percentages of students that favor and oppose such behavior. We did something analogous to this when we asked the subjects how they would have voted on a recent proposal to ban the sale of hard liquor in Madison. The answers indicated that 72 percent of them had attitudes favorable to drinking.

What is the relation of such a percentage, or of the single "score" on an attitudes test, to our 16 different percentages (or scores, if we had employed a scale instead of a dichotomy throughout)? The simplest answer, perhaps, is that the customary test yields an average attitude derived from the subjects' experience, whereas our approach furnishes a distribution of attitudes over a table of specific situations.

Our results suggest that *the ordinary attitudes test has little value as an indicator of attitude in definite situations.*

with three positive factors, the men showed 77 percent of "I would drink's," but in Situation 5 with four positive factors, they showed only 69. More students said they would drink when all four factors were positive than in any

Attention may be directed to the possibility of obtaining an average attitude from a table of definite situations, as well as from the "apperceptive mass" of the subjects as now done by attitude tests. For example, the mean percentage of students that checked "I would drink" for our 16 situations taken together was about 30. The averages obtained by the two methods are not likely to agree, however. The 30 percent found from our table is quite different from the 72 percent found from our inquiry about how the students would vote. This is to be expected, because our situations were limited to four factors, whereas attitude tests use no restrictions. Our approach is therefore seen primarily as a preliminary attempt to introduce some experimental control into a hitherto uncontrolled field of forces.

other arrangement; but the men and women differed somewhat. Women were most likely to say that they would drink when their companions were drinking, when they liked the taste of the liquor, when their date *was* present, and when they were not despondent. Men most often said they would drink when their companions were drinking, when they

TABLE III

DRINKING COEFFICIENTS* CLASSIFIED BY MEMBERSHIP IN A FRATERNITY AND BY SEX OF SUBJECTS

TOTAL		MALES		FEMALES	
Frat.	Non-Frat.	Frat.	Non-Frat.	Sor.	Non-Sor.
36	28	40	28	30	26

* See Table I for definition.

TABLE IV

STUDENTS CLASSIFIED BY TIME SINCE LAST DRINK AND BY SEX

STUDENTS	TOTAL					MALES					FEMALES				
	Tot.	Wk.	Mo.	Yr.	Never	Tot.	Wk.	Mo.	Yr.	Never	Tot.	Wk.	Mo.	Yr.	Never
Number...	163	67	49	27	20	100	45	27	15	13	63	22	22	12	7
Percent....	100	41	30	17	12	100	45	27	15	13	100	35	35	19	11

liked the liquor, and when their date was *not* present, whether they were despondent or not.

Again, when the three other factors were negative, a liking for the liquor raised the percentage of men who said they would drink by 23; the factor "My companions were drinking" raised it by 20; a feeling of despondency was responsible for an increase of only 4 percent; and the introduction to the party of the "girl friend" made almost no difference. In the case of the women, a taste for alcohol expanded the percentage of "I would drink's" by only 8, the presence of drinking companions by 6, the presence of the "boy friend" by 4, and "despondency" was negligible.

The best test of the relative influence of the four factors on the subjects' statements, however, was obtained by chang-

ing each test factor from negative to positive in every possible situation (8 in number). When this was done for the factor "I did not like the liquor," in both sexes together the percentage of "I would drink's" increased on the average 34.4; for the factor "My companions were not drinking" the increase was 33.9 percent; but for the factors "My date was not present" and "I was not despondent" the increases were only 1.8 and 1.3, respectively. Evidently, the most important factors in inducing students to drink were drinking companions and a liking for the drink. To show this further, when both of these factors were changed together from negative to positive in all possible situations (4 in number),

a mean increase of 70 followed in the percentage of students who would drink.

Which of the two principal factors, a liking for liquor or drinking companions, is the more important in causing students to drink, in their opinion? An average of 16 students in 100 said they would drink if their companions were drinking, even though they did not like the liquor. On the other hand, 15 percent of them would drink if they liked the liquor although their companions were not drinking. According to these and preceding figures, as an inducement to drink the influence of drinking companions was approximately equal to a taste for liquor. In other words, here is objective evidence that among us the drinking of alcohol may be a device for gaining status in a group quite as much as for gratifying an appetite.

In addition to this kind of analysis, a number of correlations may of course be made between the data of Table II and the items of general information obtained on the schedule. Since there is nothing novel about that procedure, we shall go no farther with it here than to offer Table III as an illustration of what we mean.

Some purely factual exhibits like that of Table IV are also of interest as a supplement to such inquiries, of course, but will be foregone here as irrelevant to our purpose.

Incidentally, such a technique as we have sketched above lends itself to much more elaborate statistical treatment than any employed here, when it seems necessary.

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS THROUGH FIELD COURSE PROCEDURE

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FOR five summer weeks in 1939 and again in 1940, wondering citizens of Greenville County, South Carolina, saw a small group of students submitting local culture and people to the microscopic examination of the social scientist. The students, working usually on the graduate level, could be found participating in discussions with county and state officials and with local experts or interviewing textile workers and mill superintendents, sharecroppers and farm owners, ministers and teachers—in fact, having personal contact with people of both races and all social strata in the county. Of additional interest is the fact that the majority of the students were from outside the region, coming in the main from the Northeast and the Middle West. Since this picture is strikingly different from that found in most academic courses in Sociology or Education, it deserves reporting and evaluating.

ORGANIZING THE COURSE

Perhaps it was with something of a pioneering spirit that Teachers College of Columbia University, in cooperation with

The Open Road, announced a sociological field course in Southern Conditions as a regular offering of the 1939 summer session.¹ Teachers College, long recognized as a center for the development of new ideas in education, was the logical institution first to attempt to work out the new procedures involved in such a social science field course.

The Open Road, a non-profit organization, has for fifteen years been encouraging international understanding through study and travel. More than 5,000 individuals have studied while they traveled in various parts of the world under direction of The Open Road. In recent years the ever increasing challenge confronting American democracy, together with the fact that most of the world is being closed to American students, led this organization to turn its attention to our own country.

¹ The writer served as field instructor for the course in both 1939 and 1940. Dr. Wilbur C. Hallenbeck and Dr. Edmund DeS. Brunner of Teachers College and Mr. John Rothschild of The Open Road assisted in planning. Dr. Hallenbeck and Mr. Rothschild visited the course in the field for several days each summer, participating in the activities of the group and leading discussions.

From encouraging international understanding, The Open Road has expanded its objectives to include the promotion of interregional understanding. Advocates of the new regionalism, of whom Howard W. Odum is the chief exponent, see in the movement one means of revitalizing a democratic society.

Greenville County, South Carolina, was chosen as the locale for the course, trips being taken over South Carolina and adjoining states. There were three reasons underlying the choice of this particular area: (1) Greenville County is representative of several of the subregions of the South. Its fifty-mile length ranges from the Southern Appalachian Mountains in the north to cotton plantations in the south. Between these extremities lie small one-family cotton farms clustered around typical agricultural villages and an urban industrial center of more than 75,000 population with textile manufacturing of chief importance. This may be considered a center of the new industrial South. (2) The Greenville County Council for Community Development, a unique experiment in community organization, offered cooperation in the course. Research materials gathered through the council program were made available and council staff members were used in discussions. The work of the council was analyzed in some detail. (3) Furman University, already making efforts to "get off its hill" and become a force in community life, was glad to cooperate in this new type of study.

Technical details were handled cooperatively by The Open Road and Teachers College. Academic registration was carried out through correspondence with the college. A flat fee was paid covering tuition and the other usual university charges, as well as all travel expenses, meals, tips, et cetera, throughout the course. All travel and living accommo-

dations were arranged in advance by The Open Road or the instructor of the course. Private automobiles served as the means of travel. Headquarters and living accommodations were provided on the Furman campus, meals being taken in a nearby private home noted for its southern cooking. Travel stops usually were made at first-rate hotels.

An important phase of the 1940 course was an evaluation program sponsored by the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education. A well trained specialist in teacher-training evaluation was with the group for the entire period.² It was hoped that a thorough evaluation might indicate wherein this method of study in social science is more or less effective than the usual summer campus course. Data obtained in the evaluation program are of much value in reporting and appraising the course and will be referred to at various points.

Procedures worked out for the original course in 1939 were modified in the light of experience and new ideas were incorporated in the 1940 course. It is with the latter course that we are primarily concerned here.

ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS

With a maximum limit of fifteen set in advance, thirteen students enrolled in the 1940 course. There were two Home Demonstration Agents from the Vermont Agricultural Extension Service, a District Home Economics Supervisor of the New York Agricultural Extension Service, and a District Supervisor of 4H Club work from Kentucky. From the field of educa-

² Two other sociological field courses under the Open Road program were similarly evaluated during the summer of 1940. Dr. Louis Rath, Ohio State University, was in charge of the evaluation program and Dr. Lee H. Mathews was the evaluator for the course in Southern Conditions. A complete report of the evaluation findings for the several courses is to be published by the Commission early in 1941.

tion came a college instructor from Connecticut, high school teachers from Minnesota, Georgia, and South Carolina, and elementary school teachers from New York State, New Jersey, and South Carolina. A Superintendent of rural schools from South Carolina was with the group for one-half the period. A District Supervisor from a public health service in New York City and a Baptist minister from South Carolina completed the roster. The varied geographical and occupational representation of the group, together with the keen intellectual insight and interest displayed by the students, was an important factor in the success of the course.

An advance questionnaire was sent to the students for the purpose of ascertaining academic and occupational background facts which might serve as tentative indices of the interests of the group. Much of the program for the course had to be planned in advance by the instructor, due to the necessity of clearing dates with speakers and reserving living accommodations on trips. However, in light of the expressed wishes of the students, adjustments were made in scheduled activities from time to time, some things being omitted and a number of additional experiences being added.

For the most part the course was confined to five fields of interest: agriculture, labor, health, education, and race relations. Due in part to some of the experiences of the course and to the make-up of the group, considerable attention was given also to the place of religion in the South. Each student selected a topic or a problem on which he would concentrate the greater part of his personal investigation. Students were asked to keep notebooks which would contain data deemed worth recording from discussions, interviews, or trips; questions they would like to have answered; and any conclusions which they might reach concerning topics

under consideration. The instructor studied the notebooks from time to time.

The majority of the students were registered for four points credit. Those registered for more than four points prepared written papers on their selected problems, such papers usually not being completed until several weeks after the close of the course.

The study group had its own library consisting of some 200 books and pamphlets on various phases of southern conditions. However, observation and personal interviews largely took the place of reading as parallel for the lecture-discussions.

HOW THE TIME WAS SPENT

The students convened in Washington and for three days participated in discussions concerning the work of various government agencies in the South. Experts were heard in the Department of Agriculture representing the Agricultural Extension Service, the Farm Credit Administration, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Farm Security Administration. In the Department of Labor, southern labor problems were discussed by the southern representative of the Labor Conciliation Service. Several staff members of the National Resources Planning Board explained their work as regards national resources and regional planning.

Travel to South Carolina afforded opportunity to see something of the old South at Williamsburg; to observe types of agriculture, housing conditions, the distribution of industry; and to visit two outstanding educational centers of the South.

During the major part of the course, which was spent in Greenville, effort was made for students to have as many personal contacts with local people as possible. This was accomplished through prearranged discussions or interviews, as

well as through chance contacts. Trips were taken over the county, through the mountains of western North Carolina and Georgia, and to the coast of South Carolina. On all trips there was contact with both experts and local people.

A time analysis carried out in connection with the evaluation program indicates relative points of emphasis as far as procedures are concerned. There follows a slight revision of this analysis showing how the waking hours, excluding time spent at meals, were spent by the student group during the course:

Travel (sightseeing).....	18%	or	66 hours
Lecture-discussions with instructor or experts.....	10%	or	37 hours
Panel discussions.....	4%	or	15 hours
Student group discussions (planning, summary, review).....	11%	or	41 hours
Pre-arranged interviews.....	3%	or	11 hours
Visiting farms, schools, churches, mills, etc.....	16%	or	59 hours
Evaluation program.....	6%	or	22 hours
Recreation (scheduled events).....	2%	or	7 hours
Unscheduled time (devoted to individual activities such as reading, work on notebooks, chance interviews, bull sessions, etc.).....	30%	or	111 hours

It is obvious that much more of a student's day was devoted to the various phases of the course than is true of the usual summer campus course comprised largely of class lectures and reading. Furthermore, the field course procedure was largely continuous for seven days a week.

A summary of activities for the group as a whole for a three-day sample period may be a more realistic way of demonstrating how the course was conducted:

Wednesday, July 17

- 9:30 A.M. Summary discussion by the students of the trip over the southern part of the county taken Tuesday.
- 11:00 A.M. Discussion: "A Live-at-Home Program for Greenville County Farmers," a local dairyman, chairman of the committee directing the Live-at-Home Program of the Greenville County Council for Community Development.

- 1:45 P.M. Viewing sound movies on the southern Negro farmer and on the work of the AAA in the South.

- 3:00 P.M. Individual conferences between instructor and students.

Thursday, July 18

- 9:00 A.M. All-day tour of the northern part of the county, including a peach farm and packing shed; a model diversified farm; a rural branch library; a subsistence farm; a government mattress project; dinner in the home of a Master Farmer; 4H Club meeting in a one-room mountain school; a mountain craft center; visit to Caesar's Head, scenic resort. Accompanied by County Home Demonstration Agent.

Friday, July 19

- 9:15 A.M. Visit to city and county library. Discussion of the work of the library with the Head Librarian, with special emphasis on rural service.
- 11:00 A.M. Panel discussion: "Problems of Youth in Greenville County," a minister, a superintendent of schools, a recreation director, an NYA director, the instructor, several local youth.
- 2:30 P.M. Leave on week-end trip to Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Spend night in homes of isolated mountain families, arranged by District Home Supervisor of the Farm Security Administration.

As the course proceeded more time was devoted to interviewing. There follows a summary of interviews held by students during a three-day sample period:

Monday, July 22

Miss D interviewed county health officer; also city health officer.

Tuesday, July 23

Miss G interviewed Executive Secretary of the Greenville County Council; also a staff member of the Council.

Miss B and Miss K interviewed Juvenile Court Judge; also former Juvenile Court Judge.

Miss F and Miss H conferred with Executive Secretary of the Greenville County Council.

Wednesday, July 24

Miss G interviewed staff member of the Greenville County Council.

Miss B and Miss K interviewed Director of the Family Welfare Society.

The number of interviews by students during the course was usually between five and ten, with several having more than ten.

MEASURING RESULTS

The value of any course lies not in the program followed but in what happens to the students. In this case student growth may be exemplified in a keener interregional understanding, in modification of attitudes due to new insight into basic causes, or in increased ability to do critical, scientific thinking. Further evaluation of the course may be concerned with the extent to which students assimilate knowledge or ideas for which they see possible use in their own lines of work. Also, was there opportunity to weigh the pros and cons of various remedial efforts, both governmental and private? What happened to the thinking of the southerners in the group? Was there evidence of personality development or adjustment on the part of any of the students? An appraisal of the course should present facts on these topics.

It was not believed that a formal written examination would be the most effective means of measuring student growth in a course of this kind. A pre and post attitude test on social problems was administered as part of the evaluation program and proved to be helpful. But the most significant means of measuring student growth seemed to be the technique of compiling anecdotal records for the individual students. This was the evaluator's responsibility and in doing this he found effective the use of daily log sheets on which was noted information concerning what the individual had found to be particularly significant in his experiences of the day, why he considered the experiences to be significant, and what conclusions he had reached, if any. As this material was for the evaluator rather than

the instructor, there was perhaps more frankness since what was written would have no effect upon the student's academic grade. In appraising the course, the anecdotal materials are of much value and will be referred to from time to time below.

One indication that a better interregional understanding was achieved by the participants is that several misconceptions concerning the South were set aright. Some of the students came with the idea that everything observed would be of the problem nature and at times expressed surprise that conditions were not worse. Quoting from a daily log:

In places in Wisconsin and Minnesota I have seen White homes that were much worse than the Negro homes we have seen thus far, which is a great surprise to me, for I expected to find atrocious dwellings. I have revised a good many of my ideas of the South already; it is much better than I expected.

And from another student in conversation with the evaluator:

One of the greatest values to me has been meeting southern people and finding that they are very much like us northerners and have problems which are basically like ours. I have felt before coming down here that there was a distinct difference between North and South, and now that feeling has been wiped out. The South does have different specific problems, but it seems to me that their fundamental social and economic problems are similar.

Perhaps more of this kind of understanding would serve to weld together the seemingly heterogeneous interests which make up American democracy.

It can safely be said that a number of the students gained new insight into the complexity of the race relations situation. The general economic situation of the Negroes was found to be better than was expected by some, but it was difficult for those from other regions to comprehend how the so-called Bible Belt could tolerate evident racial discrimination in the press, in the courts, and in the right to vote. Changing from the kindly, "missionary"

interest in aiding the Negro, so characteristic of many outside the South, the students came to see the problem in a different light. For instance, after a round table discussion with a group of Negro leaders, these two comments were recorded by different students:

The most significant statement made during the discussion was: "We do not want help but an opportunity to help ourselves."

The discussion showed that these men were thinking about solving their own problems. They want to help themselves and this would certainly be a more lasting kind of help.

Besides clearing up a number of misconceptions, it is believed that many facts about the South were brought to light which will enable those from other regions better to understand both the problems and the potentialities of the South.

Changes in points of view by southerners in the group are equally interesting and significant. An inescapable conclusion growing out of the experiences in the course is that local people have almost as much to learn about their community or region as have outsiders. Anecdotal records indicate this time and again:

I am very much amazed at the condition of the Negro homes visited today. Although —'s house wasn't exactly clean it is far better than I expected to find. I had never expected to find Negroes owning their own farms either. Although I have always lived in the South, I never knew Negroes fared so well.

I am beginning to recognize that I have been so close to our problems in the South that I haven't seen them very clearly before. Getting out with people from another part of the country and seeing my own people have made me see things in a different light.

We of the South are still living in Civil War days and maintain a defensive attitude. We look upon outsiders as foreigners. We are unable to be really objective. I have been amazed at how the northern students are able to be genuinely interested in southerners, seemingly open-minded and objective, and able to set away their prejudices. That sort of thing is just not a part of southern culture or thinking. We southerners sentimentalize everything and fall back upon a defense mechanism. I am sure that this ex-

perience is going to have considerable influence upon my own objectivity and open-mindedness.

A girl in the course was heard to remark: "I've lived on a southern farm all my life but I've learned things today I never knew before." If local people are not cognizant of conditions and problems of their own community, democratic discussion and planning are not possible.

There were changes in attitudes toward particular problems. The pre and post attitude tests on social problems are revealing in this respect. Six of the ten social problems included in this test were given consideration during the course. The evaluation report indicates that all but two of the students showed shifts in attitude with reference to at least one of these problems: agriculture, government and business, housing, poverty, race relations, labor unions. Possible positions on these problems may be classed under three headings: "conservative," "middle-of-the-road," and "liberal." Of the seventeen recorded shifts in attitudes concerning these problems, three were from a "conservative" to a "middle-of-the-road" position, while eight were from "middle-of-the-road" to "liberal." On the other hand, some shifting in the reverse direction occurred, four being from "liberal" to "middle-of-the-road" and two from "middle-of-the-road" to "conservative." On the whole, the majority of attitude shifts were in the "liberal" direction.

Attitudes were perhaps most clear cut in the field of race relations and more opinion shifts were registered for this problem than for any of the other five. While a Phi Beta Kappa was recording in her daily log that a visit to Negro farm families on the Farm Security program had served somewhat to break down her race prejudice and show her how the Negro can live if properly educated, two other extremely capable stu-

dents in the group showed a shift in attitude from "liberal" to "middle-of-the-road" on the race problem.

As would be expected there was a wide variation among the students in their ability to gain insight into basic causes of some of the conditions observed. Summary discussions generally produced shared decisions as to causes. Occasionally there was evidence of an individual student reaching significant conclusions. For instance, one student made the following notation in her log:

I am amazed to find the power of the Church in the South despite the poor quality of its leadership. . . . Until the churches demand better trained ministers who have an understanding of social problems and their improvement, the Church will not be able to take advantage of the opportunity it would seem to have.

The extreme emotional quality of the church service observed displays a need for an emotional outlet of these people which is apparently provided in no other way.

Further analysis of the social problems attitude test reveals that students were better able at the end of the course to think logically concerning controversial issues. Besides selecting a "conservative," "middle-of-the-road," or "liberal" position with respect to a problem, the test required that students check logical reasons to back up the different positions. The post test indicated that all except three of the students had increased their scores on ability to recognize logical reasons. The average numerical gain made by the students in this respect can be shown to be statistically significant.

Considerable attention was given to the various governmental programs which are seeking to improve conditions. Quoting a student:

On a field course of this kind you can really see how Federal assistance is operating which you cannot get from reading. I am beginning to see what some of the alphabet agencies are really trying to do.

As already noted, experts from a number of agencies spoke to the group in Washington. During the period of study in the South, the work of the agricultural and home demonstration agents was analyzed in some detail. The program of the Farm Security Administration was studied perhaps as fully as that of any other government-agency, visits being made to rehabilitation families, tenant-purchase families, and a resettlement community. Time spent in the southeastern regional office of the Soil Conservation Service was profitable and the group soon became "erosion conscious." Concrete results of the efforts of the Farm Credit Administration to encourage the formation of cooperatives and credit unions were observed in several rural communities.

The place of the vocational agriculture and home economics teachers in the rural high school and community became clear. The potential place of the rural school as a community center and as a force in community development was demonstrated. Special attention was given Negro education, on the college as well as primary and secondary levels. Adult education projects were discussed such as the state-wide Opportunity School for underprivileged young people and adults, and a Citizens Education Center in the city of Greenville. The services of a county-wide public library system—rare in the South—were explained and students made trips to rural communities on a library truck. Projects of the United States Housing Authority were visited. Finally there was some contact with the work of the National Youth Administration and the recreation and crafts programs of the Works Projects Administration. Not all of these government efforts to improve conditions could be analyzed in detail. However, the students did become

familiar with the general type of work and some few were explored fully.

Numerous private programs and agencies were given attention also. Chief among these was the Greenville County Council for Community Development. The activities of this council have been extensive, touching many areas of life in rural communities and effecting an admirable coordination of social agencies in the city of Greenville. A Negro community center was visited and also the Penn School for Negroes on St. Helena Island, widely known for its excellent work in community development.

With the once docile and cheap labor supply of the South now stirring with efforts toward organization, understanding of the status of the southern labor movement is important. Representatives of labor unions, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O., were heard, as well as an official of the South Carolina Textile Manufacturers Association.

Another objective of the course was to enable students to gain knowledge or ideas which they might use in their special line of work. There is abundance of evidence that this objective was achieved. A few samples taken from daily logs should suffice:

Recreation problems in Vermont could perhaps be partially solved with a similar idea (as that used at Mountain View).

One of the most important things I am getting out of this course is an enlargement of my criteria of successful community work. I am having called to my attention more things to look for than I have previously felt essential. In other words, it is increasing the breadth of my vision and sharpening my powers of observation of social and adult education work.

I can hardly wait until this course is over to get back home. I want to find out the things about my own home community that I am studying here in this country. This course is certainly opening my eyes to problems and relationships that I never realized existed.

Similar notes could be reproduced from the daily logs of most of the students. Evidently, the students got something practical to take home with them.

To demonstrate objectively that there was personality development among any of the students during the course would be difficult since no personality tests were used in the evaluation program. However, since the nature of the course called for intense living together for a period of several weeks it is to be expected that some changes may have taken place. The necessity of rather quick adjustment to a number of utter strangers may test the flexibility of a personality. Some rather close friendships were formed almost immediately, while with other group members adjustment proceeded slowly. One student seemed to be somewhat introverted with a background of dependence upon an older sister. Adjustment was difficult and she was obviously ill at ease in the beginning. However, within ten days she was playing the piano for group singing, finding it easier to ask questions in group discussions, and participating more freely in the various activities. Her growth, both intellectually and from a personality standpoint, perhaps surpassed that of any other student in the course.

In the evaluation program students were asked to compare this field course with an allied campus course of the usual sort, the comparison to be made with reference to some 62 different possible aspects of student growth or development. Students were asked to check each of these aspects as to whether related campus experience had been very much better, somewhat better, of the same value, or the field course experience somewhat better or very much better. Thus a student had five choices for each of the different phases of learning or individual development. On all but 8 of the 62

items the majority of students indicated belief that the field course experience was either somewhat better or very much better. Some of the ways in which the great majority of the students felt the field course experience was very much better are as follows:

- In helping gain a more consistent educational and social philosophy.
- In gaining greater understanding of the meaning and importance of democracy as a way of life.
- In helping you challenge some of your beliefs with respect to economic problems, race relations and the like.
- In contributing to the development of new interests.
- In helping you better to understand your own community.
- In making you want to explore, study, and read materials.
- In helping you become increasingly conscious of a personal need to become more aware of events going on in the world and the forces behind those events.

The general feeling of the students about the course is well summed up in the following excerpts from notes jotted down by members of the group:

The limitations of educators who have confined their training and work too much to a specialized area might be largely overcome by such a course as this.

We need more courses of this kind to make us aware as teachers of, or workers with, adults that we should be more interested in how people live and how they think. We need to be jarred loose from thinking our own little area of work is the only important thing in the world. I feel that this course is doing that very thing for me.

CONCLUSIONS

Finally, a number of constructive suggestions and conclusions may be made regarding sociological analysis through field course procedure. Space requirements forbid that these be more than mentioned. It appears that one instructor can handle a maximum of fifteen students in a field course. In planning, proper

consideration should be given to student needs and desires, the schedule being made as flexible as possible. Furthermore, certain danger points in nonstatistical field investigation should be stressed with the students at the beginning of the course. It is apparent that field trips are not necessarily valuable *per se* but require careful planning and student preparation. In using the technique of lecture-discussion by experts, care must be exercised that the presentation is to the point and that time for ample discussion is provided. In addition to the lecture-discussion technique, a wide variety of procedures should be used, such as the panel discussion, student discussion, interview, audio-visual presentation, field trip observation, and the like. Also, presentation of controversial issues should be balanced, with extreme views as well as a middle-of-the-road position being given consideration. To obtain optimum results, care must be taken that opportunity for sufficient student discussions are provided, so that obscure points may be clarified, experiences assimilated, and relationships discerned. Finally, the tendency to schedule too many events should be curbed. Judicious selection, preferably by the students, of possible experiences should be made, with much unscheduled time allowed.

Two years of experience with the course in Southern Conditions leads one to conclude that this type of field course procedure in social science has much to commend it. In many ways it provides learning situations not possible in the ordinary campus course. Its further development and refinement of procedures may be significant in the whole field of social science. There is evidence that student interest is increased. Experiences which are "lived" rather than merely "read" may be more fully understood and

remembered longer. Moreover, skill in sociological analysis should be acquired which can be used by the individual in his profession or in everyday life as a citizen in a democracy. Especially is

this type of study believed to be significant in teacher-training where the need is great for demonstrating both the function of the school as a community institution and the nature of a community or region.

ECONOMIC STATUS AND HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

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CONSIDERABLE has been written concerning economic status of homes relative to high-school attendance, largely from the standpoint of urban and industrial communities. This article reports a questionnaire study of two groups of high schools of 100-600 pupils each, located in rural areas of two distant States. In one group are eleven Illinois schools within roughly 75 miles of one another, and in the other group are eleven white Georgia schools of similar spacial contiguity. The economic factors studied relate to vocational status of parents, and to nonschool work done by pupils.

VOCATION OF FATHERS

Table I shows the vocations of fathers. In both states, both skilled and unskilled labor are represented by a smaller percentage of seniors than of freshmen, whereas among farmers the reverse is true. In general, managerial and professional vocations are represented by larger percentages of seniors than freshmen, although the difference is much smaller than for farmers.

The situation regarding managerial, professional, and labor vocations is common and needs no comment. That a larger percentage of seniors than freshmen should live on farms, however, is less typical. A possible explanation lies in

small two-year high schools in the areas served by the four-year schools studied, with the result that some rural children do not attend four-year schools during the first part of their high-school careers. It seems unlikely that the mortality of farm pupils, among those entering four-year-schools as freshmen, is enough less than that for other groups to account for the percentage increase among farm children between freshman and senior years.

Relative to sex differences, the data for "all grades" show a higher percentage of boys than girls among children of laborers in both States, whereas the reverse appears among farm children. Other vocational groups show no important sex differences. Possibly there is an urge among labor groups for boys to secure the manual or other vocational education which high schools offer, whereas parallel education for girls may appear less urgent. The fact that, in general, a larger proportion of farm girls than of farm boys attend high school, is not new—boys probably work more.

VOCATION OF MOTHER

Mothers sometimes follow vocations, aside from homemaking, particularly if fathers are dead. Pursuit of vocations by mothers might be thought to influence high school attendance of children. Following the sex and State categories of

Table I, from 70.5 to 75.8 percent of the mothers with vocations have husbands living, whereas the range for mothers without vocations is from 90.6 to 93.8 percent, with no significant State differences. However in Georgia 15.1 percent of the boys and 11.6 percent of the girls have fathers dead, whereas the corresponding percentages for Illinois are 5.9 and 6.4. Among seniors, both sexes, 16.5 percent

continue in high school than a Georgia pupil. This suggests a difference in economic strata represented by pupils in the two states.¹

VOCATION OF MOTHER AND NONSCHOOL WORK OF PUPIL

It was thought that youth of working mothers might feel a stronger vocational urge than other youth. Usable data on

TABLE I
VOCATION OF FATHER BY SEX AND GRADE OF PUPIL
(In Percentages)

VOCATION OF FATHER	GRADE AND SEX OF PUPIL											
	1st Year				4th Year				All Grades			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	Ga.	Ill.	Ga.	Ill.	Ga.	Ill.	Ga.	Ill.	Ga.	Ill.	Ga.	Ill.
Unskilled labor.....	11.3	7.6	9.1	5.7	3.7	3.6	3.9	4.6	7.8	5.8	6.3	4.4
Skilled labor.....	23.0	35.1	14.6	29.9	21.1	21.4	12.4	23.5	20.1	30.1	16.2	26.6
Farmer.....	18.7	23.7	22.2	33.4	21.8	42.7	30.5	42.4	21.9	32.4	27.5	38.2
Mech. and trades.....	8.3	9.6	9.1	7.1	4.2	5.5	6.4	4.2	6.6	7.2	6.9	6.8
Clerical worker.....	7.0	1.9	13.3	1.7	16.7	1.8	18.4	1.8	13.3	1.5	15.7	1.8
Public official.....	5.3	3.4	3.3	3.5	2.1	0.9	0.9	4.2	3.7	3.8	2.2	3.8
Merchant.....	11.7	3.4	13.6	5.3	12.1	3.6	11.6	2.7	11.7	3.1	11.3	3.3
Managerial employ.....	5.7	9.2	7.4	7.5	9.3	13.7	7.3	11.1	5.4	10.3	6.9	8.3
Profession.....	9.0	6.1	7.4	5.9	9.0	6.8	8.6	5.5	9.5	5.8	7.0	6.8
Number of Cases.....	300	262	361	281	189	220	233	217	969	944	1201	984

in Georgia and 4.1 percent in Illinois have fathers dead, whereas the corresponding percentages for freshmen are 15.4 and 8.6. Thus less than half as large a percentage of Illinois seniors have lost their fathers as of Illinois freshmen, which suggests a relationship between loss of father and dropping out of school. Conversely in Georgia slightly more seniors than freshmen have lost their fathers, as might be expected with the passing of three years, if death of father was no factor in dropping out of school. Hence when the father dies, an Illinois pupil seems less likely to

this point were supplied by 630 Georgia and 762 Illinois pupils, of whom, however, only 3.5 per cent and 8.0 per cent respectively reported mothers having vocations. Hence the data are meager. So far as analysis of data according to amount-of-work categories indicates, the mother's working has little to do with the amount of nonschool work reported by a pupil.

¹ Cf. Harold H. Punke, "Sociological Factors in the Leisure-Time Reading of High-School Students," *Library Quarterly*, 7 (July, 1937) 332-42.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND NONSCHOOL WORK

Table II shows town versus farm residence in relation to amount of nonschool work done. Illinois pupils, both sexes, whether living in town or on farms, report more work than Georgia pupils. This again suggests an economic differ-

capacity or opportunity to work among seniors as compared with freshmen.

Among Georgia boys, "all grades," a larger percentage of those living in town report "no work" than of those living on farms, whereas the reverse is true among Illinois boys. Among Georgia

TABLE II
RELATION OF FARM AND TOWN RESIDENCE TO NONSCHOOL WORK DONE, BY GRADE AND SEX OF PUPIL

GRADE AND SEX OF PUPIL BY STATE	LIVE ON FARM					LIVE IN TOWN				
	No. Reporting on Work Done	Percent Doing Specified Amounts of Work				No. Reporting on Work Done	Percent Doing Specified Amounts of Work			
		No Work	5 hrs. per wk. or less	5-12 hrs. per wk.	Over 12 hrs. per wk.		No Work	5 hrs. per wk. or less	5-12 hrs. per wk.	Over 12 hrs. per wk.
1st:										
Boys										
Ga.....	90	50.0	14.5	22.2	13.3	280	65.5	9.6	12.1	12.8
Ill.....	137	45.3	17.5	24.1	13.1	161	34.2	23.0	31.0	11.8
Girls										
Ga.....	102	68.7	8.8	13.7	8.8	330	77.6	10.3	9.7	2.4
Ill.....	126	31.0	35.7	23.8	9.5	156	42.3	29.5	19.9	8.3
4th:										
Boys										
Ga.....	63	42.9	6.3	12.7	38.1	178	58.5	3.9	16.3	21.3
Ill.....	131	39.7	24.4	25.2	10.7	131	42.8	15.3	25.9	16.0
Girls										
Ga.....	83	74.7	1.2	10.8	13.3	192	82.9	5.7	5.7	5.7
Ill.....	106	44.3	21.7	23.6	10.4	135	48.9	15.5	26.7	8.9
All Grades:										
Boys										
Ga.....	310	47.4	7.1	18.1	27.4	941	63.7	6.7	13.3	16.3
Ill.....	509	43.0	21.0	22.6	13.4	573	37.9	20.1	28.1	13.9
Girls										
Ga.....	382	69.9	8.4	12.6	9.1	1077	83.0	6.6	6.7	3.7
Ill.....	480	39.0	27.3	22.1	11.6	576	45.7	26.2	19.6	8.5

ence between pupils in the two States. In both States girls report less work than boys. Among girls of both States, in town or on farms, seniors report less work than freshmen. This suggests economic selection within the high school, whereby girls who do not work survive, rather than suggesting a decreased ca-

boys the above comparison holds for both freshmen and seniors, whereas among Illinois boys it holds for Freshmen and for "all grades" but not for seniors. Among Illinois seniors a larger percentage of those living in town report "no work" than of those living on farms. A possible explanation of this difference between

Illinois and Georgia boys of the two grade levels, is that in Illinois agriculture is more largely a machine industry than in Georgia, and seniors are more capable of operating machinery than are freshmen. If little machinery is used in agriculture, there would be no parallel factor of difference between freshmen and seniors in Georgia.

SUMMARY

Certain summary statements of fact may be in order.

1. The percentage of pupils representing skilled and unskilled laborers decreased from freshman to senior years, whereas the percentage representing farmers and persons in managerial and professional vocations increased.
2. A larger percentage of the pupils

coming from labor groups were boys than girls, whereas the reverse was true of pupils coming from farmers.

3. There seems to be no close connection between mothers having vocations and the amount of nonschool work done by pupils.

4. A larger percentage of Georgia than of Illinois pupils have lost their fathers. Moreover a larger percentage of Georgia seniors than freshmen have lost their fathers, whereas the reverse is true of Illinois pupils.

5. Girls report less nonschool work, both States, than boys, and senior girls report less than freshman girls. More Georgia boys of the different grade categories who live in town report "no work" than of those who live on farms, whereas among seniors the reverse is true for Illinois boys.

JOHN ANISFIELD AWARD

The sixth annual John Anisfield Award of \$1,000 for the outstanding book of the year on racial relations has been awarded to Louis Adamic, Editor of *Common Ground*, for his "From Many Lands" a most human account of the racial contacts and blendings of our recent immigrants in America. This book is his latest addition to the magnificent work he has been doing for years in portraying the struggle of the immigrant to find himself in his new environment, and to adjust himself to it.

An immigrant himself, Mr. Adamic is happily endowed with an exceptional capacity for penetrating into the inner lives of others and revealing them in a clear and kindly light to those who should be their friends. The present volume consists almost entirely of intimate narratives of the lives and careers of a number of representative immigrant individuals, families, and groups. Naturally, the cases are chosen partly for their outstanding and dramatic features and can hardly be considered as typical of their respective groups in the sense of an average. However, they serve admirably to high-light the essential problems and solutions of the stranger in a foreign land. Some of the names are disguised for obvious reasons, but others are genuine. The American of longer standing, reading this book, will learn much not only about the newcomer, but also about himself and his country.

This award was established in 1934 by Mrs. Edith Anisfield Wolf of Cleveland, Ohio, in memory of her father, John Anisfield, for the purpose of encouraging and rewarding the production of good books in the field of racial relationships, either here or abroad. The committee of judges consists of Henry Seidel Canby, Contributing Editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of Sociology, New York University, and Donald Young, of the Social Science Research Council.

D. Y.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

PAROLE SERVICE FOR THE INSANE IN MINNESOTA

ALICE LEAHY SHEA

University of Minnesota

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

THE practice of paroling patients in advance of their discharge from mental hospitals has steadily increased in all parts of our country. According to the Bureau of the Census, 44,476 or 11 percent of the patients on the books of all State Hospitals were on parole in 1935.¹ The significance of parole in releasing space for the admission of new patients to hospitals is well recognized. New admissions and readmissions fill all vacated space. However, the importance of parole in the total treatment program of the individual patient is of still greater significance. The nature and extent of assistance offered patients on parole unquestionably influence the number of readmissions to our hospitals. Studies of a selected number of paroled patients from institutions in New York and Massachusetts where parole service is well established have demonstrated the adjustment possibilities of patients returning to their own communities. Also, these studies have provided some evidence of the type and quality of extra-institutional service that is essential if we would

protect society as well as rehabilitate the patient.

Parole service for the insane was inaugurated in the State Hospitals of Minnesota by an act of the legislature in 1907. This act placed the responsibility for the service in the Board of Control who in cooperation with the superintendents of the institutions have formulated the program and policies of the service.² At the present time, Minnesota has two parole officers assigned to the supervision of the insane. On the basis of the number of patients on parole—1358 in 1933, 1460 in 1934, 1619 in 1935 and 1595 in 1936—the two officers are each responsible for approximately 700 to 800 patients. However, there are in addition, six persons designated as financial officers attached to the same department, who, while in pursuit of their primary duty, namely, a determination of the patient's ability to pay for his hospital care, may render services generally undertaken by the parole officers. Unquestionably, a considerable portion of the services recorded

¹ Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1935, U. S. Dept. of Commerce—Bureau of the Census, Table 1, p. 2.

² Minnesota Laws Relating to the State Board of Control and Institutions under its Management or Supervision. (Minnesota: Stillwater, 1933.) Board of Control was discontinued 1937—duties now undertaken by Department of Social Security.

and analyzed in this study was undertaken by financial officers. We may assume, nevertheless, that in Minnesota as elsewhere the parole officers are entrusted with the major responsibility for the medical-social supervision of patients on parole. How well this supervision is done in Minnesota is not known. An adequate evaluation would demand a direct study of a representative sample of paroled patients.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The present investigation is limited to a study of the case records of the paroled insane on file in the Division of Parole, State Capitol, St. Paul. While these records give an incomplete basis for evaluation, they provide data from which the extent of the services rendered paroled patients in Minnesota may be clearly inferred.

The records of 535 patients chosen at random from a total group of 1358 patients on parole from the Minnesota State Hospitals in 1933 provide the basis of our analysis. Patients from five institutions were included; 147 from St. Peter, 170 from Rochester, 163 from Fergus Falls, 14 from Hastings, 41 from Anoka. It should be noted that 480, or 89.7 percent, of the group were on parole from institutions classified as hospitals, namely, St. Peter, Rochester, and Fergus Falls. The inclusion of 55 patients from the Hastings and Anoka, institutions for chronic patients should not seriously distort our general findings. In all probability these patients were paroled home for a vacation or to die and in consequence would not receive intensive service from the parole department.

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION

A consideration of the sex, age, race and marital conditions of our experimental

population leads to the conclusion that they are fairly typical of all patients in mental hospitals. For example, the sex distribution in the group is males 56 percent, females 44 percent, while the relative frequency of the sexes on parole from all state hospitals is males 53.6 percent, females 46.4 percent.³ In age also there is close agreement with the generality of patients. The mean age of our experimental population is 44.1 years for the males and for the females 42.9 years. The median age of both males and females in all state hospitals falls between 40 and 45 years.⁴ The percentage frequency of

TABLE 1
MARITAL CONDITION OF 535 PAROLEES FROM
MINNESOTA STATE HOSPITALS

MARITAL CONDITION	DISTRIBUTION		TOTAL PERCENT DISTRIBUTION, FIRST ADMIS- SIONS TO STATE HOSPITALS,* 1933
	Number	Percent	
Single.....	185	34.6	33.6
Married.....	269	50.3	46.9
Widowed.....	38	7.1	13.6
Divorced.....	23	4.3	4.5
Separated.....	12	2.2	0.0
Unknown.....	8	1.5	1.3

* Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1933, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Computed from Table 22, p. 36.

white population in our paroled group is 98.8 percent. This corresponds almost exactly with the incidence of whites in the general population in Minnesota but exceeds their occurrence by about 10 percent in all state hospitals.⁵ The similarity in marital conditions of our group with that of the generality of mental patients is shown in Table 1.

³ Patients in Hospitals for Mental Disease, 1933, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Table 1, p. 2.

⁴ Ibid., Table 19, p. 30.

⁵ Ibid., Table 15, p. 26.

LENGTH OF PAROLE PERIOD

Since we were desirous of securing evidence in reference to the actual number of contacts made by the supervising officers with paroled patients a first consideration in the selection of our population for study was length of time on parole. Recently paroled patients would not give the desired data. A period of four years was arbitrarily chosen as sufficient to permit the operation of the available services to their full extent. Because the data were transcribed in

TABLE 2

THE NUMBER OF VISITS TO THE HOMES AND THE NUMBER OF PAROLES OF 535 PATIENTS FROM MINNESOTA STATE HOSPITALS

NUMBER OF HOME VISITS	HOME VISITS PREVIOUS TO CURRENT PAROLE		HOME VISITS SUBSEQUENT TO CURRENT PAROLE		PREVIOUS PAROLES	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0	465	86.9	171	32.0	409	76.4
1	54	10.1	135	25.2	65	12.1
2	6	1.1	110	20.6	30	5.6
3	4	0.7	45	8.4	8	1.5
4	5	0.9	24	4.5	5	0.9
5	0	0.0	20	3.7	6	1.1
6	1	0.2	14	2.6	4	0.7
7			7	1.3	1	0.2
8			3	0.6	3	0.6
9			6	1.1	4	0.7

June, 1937 our population was drawn from patients paroled in 1933. A span of this length should be sufficient to bring into evidence the sequential mobility of our population in and out of the institution as well as the frequency of contacts with parole officers.

HOME VISITS

The number of visits to the homes of our patients is presented in Table 2. An inspection of this table shows that the homes of 465, or 86.9 percent, of the patients studied were not visited before their return home. Clearly, pre-parole

work in the home community of the patient does not appear to be a part of the extra-institutional program in Minnesota. The 70 cases in which the records showed 1 or more home visits in advance of their parole in 1933 are unquestionably recommended patients who had been previously paroled. From our analysis it is evident (Table 2, columns 6 and 7) that 126 patients had been previously paroled. Since the Minnesota law on parole of the insane, implies a home visit during parole and previous to discharge, we may assume that the home visits listed in column 2 were undertaken in connection with an earlier parole. The difference between these two sets of data, namely, number of previous paroles and home visits in advance of current parole, indicate that 56, or 10.4 percent, of the patients were not visited while away from the institution on previous paroles. Whether or not 10 percent may be taken as an index of the proportion of patients who are generally away for a vacation and not in need of active supervision is not known. Columns 4 and 5 suggest a larger proportion may be so classified. Here we see that 171, or 32.0 percent, of the group were not visited during the entire 4 year period. If we subtract the 70 cases visited in connection with previous paroles, the proportion for whom supervision is not provided is reduced to 101, or about 20 percent. Considering the fact that the superintendent of a hospital is charged by law to release patients on the request of responsible relatives or friends, we may expect to find a certain proportion of patients on parole for whom the parole department assumes no responsibility.⁶

Whatever speculations are injected into

⁶ Minnesota Laws Relating to the State Board of Control and Institutions under Its Management or Supervision. Statute #8964, (Minn.: Stillwater, 1933).

our analysis, it is evident from an inspection of columns 4 and 5, Table 2, that the homes of patients on parole are infrequently visited. The majority, 57.2 percent, received one or no visits. Only 22.2 percent of the group received more than two home visits during the four year period. The number of patients that received 3 or more visits decreases consistently as the number of visits increases. Using 4 or more home visits as an index of intensity of service (since 4 would provide an average of one visit per year in the 4 year period), we find that 74, or 13.8 percent, of the patients may be regarded as having received intensive service from the parole department. With this as an index we may assume that approximately 100 patients of the 750 annually supervised by each parole officer receive 4 or more visits during their parole period. It should be noted here, however, that no distinction was made in our tabulations as to whether the home visits were undertaken by a parole officer or by a financial officer. Since there are three times as many financial officials as parole officers, it is reasonable to suppose that the former make the greater number of home calls to any selected group of patients. Recalcitrant patients, who are able to pay, undoubtedly increase the number of home visits undertaken by the financial officers, while patients who present social problems receive the attention of the parole officers.

In considering the foregoing data it should be noted that the average time between the date of parole and the first home visit is 6.88 months, with a standard deviation of 6.82 months. Thus we may infer that within the year following parole the majority of patients will be visited. Nevertheless, a large proportion are not contacted until later.

An analysis of the frequency of home

visits failed to show any relationship to age of patients, length of time spent in the institution, occupation, or disease classification. Emergencies which arise irrespective of the foregoing factors are the probable occasion of increased attention from the parole officer. The striking absence of pre-parole visits and the small number of visits per home indicate very limited professional assistance to patients during their period of attempted readjustment.

TABLE 3
TYPED PAGE LENGTH OF RECORDS OF 535 PATIENTS
ON PAROLE FROM MINNESOTA STATE HOSPITALS
1933-1937

PAGE SPACE	MEDICAL RECORD		SOCIAL RECORD	
	Number of cases	Percent	Number of cases	Percent
$\frac{1}{4}$ or less	244	45.6	250	46.7
$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$	149	27.9	98	18.3
$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1	105	19.6	72	13.4
Over 1 page	37	6.9	92	17.2
No information	0	0.0	23	4.3

RECORDS OF PAROLED PATIENTS

Under what conditions and with what amount of acquaintance with the patient does the parole officer undertake his supervisory duties, in Minnesota? These questions are interdependent. The answer to the first explains in part the second. Parole service is undertaken in Minnesota from a central office located in St. Paul for all patients except those paroled from Fergus Falls. Therefore, with the exception of cases from the latter institution, the parole officer rarely knows a patient during his stay in the hospital. His acquaintance comes with the notification from the hospital that a patient who resides in his area is to be paroled. Accompanying this notification is the medical report and recommendations. The length of these data is presented in Table 3. An inspection of this table

shows that in 73.5 percent of the cases the report sent the parole office is one-half typed page or less in length. Only 26.5 percent of the cases are described at greater length. This would suggest the briefest kind of report. Whether an adequate understanding of the patient and his difficulties can be grasped by the parole officer from so limited an amount of information may be seriously questioned. Certainly a report which is beyond mere disease classification should be forthcoming when we consider the length of time these patients have been

Only 30.6 percent of the cases are described to the extent of one-half typed page or longer (Table 3, columns 4 and 5). The majority of cases are reported on less than a half page. If the observations and experiences of the parole department have any significance for subsequent service to patients or any utility in evaluating the quality of the present program, it would appear that little is available.

COMMUNITY RESOURCES USED

An analysis of the use made of community resources is shown in Table 4. Here we see that the number of cases in which social agencies were used is negligible. In 17 cases one agency was contacted, in 6, two are reported, while in 1, seven different agencies cooperated in varying ways. The total number involved is only 24. This absence of social agency participation cannot be explained by the fact of rural residence. Only 94, or 28.9 percent, of the men in our population were farmers. The proportion of rural women is not known. Clearing the entire population with social service index showed that 206, or 38.5 percent, were known to one or more social agencies. The use of other resources in the community appear similarly rare from an inspection of columns 4 and 5 of Table 4.

CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of the whereabouts of our population four years from the date of parole revealed that 337, or 63 percent, had been taken off the books or discharged from parole; 164, or 30.6 percent, were retained under care or parole, and that 34, or 6.4 percent, were dead. The majority, therefore, had been returned to their respective communities. Since release from parole in Minnesota, as in most states, is made by the hospital

TABLE 4
COMMUNITY RESOURCES EMPLOYED BY PAROLE
DEPARTMENT

NUMBER OF RESOURCES	SOCIAL AGENCIES CONTACTED		RESOURCES OTHER THAN FAMILY OR SOCIAL AGENCIES	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0	511	95.5	506	94.6
1	17	3.2	24	4.5
2	6	1.1	0	0.0
3	0	0.0	0	0.0
4	0	0.0	0	0.0
5	0	0.0	0	0.0
6	0	0.0	0	0.0
7	1	0.2	0	0.0
No information	0	0.0	5	0.9

known to hospitals. On the average our population remained 23.5 months in the hospital. Contacts with relatives as well as intimate observations of the patients have undoubtedly been numerous. But why send more? The possibility of a Minnesota parole officer carrying through any single aspect of service for all paroled patients or of helping a selected number in an intensive manner can obviously not be undertaken with the present number of cases under his supervision.

The records compiled by the parole department are similar in brevity to those sent the parole department by the hospital.

authorities on the recommendation of the parole department we have here an index of the responsibility carried by the parole officer. Whether the discharge comes from a full knowledge of the patient's attempted adjustment remains a matter of speculation. Undoubtedly the present

large number of patients assigned to each parole officer makes intimate and consistent supervision impossible. In general it appears that the public health aspects of mental disease are definitely not being dealt with on modern public health lines in Minnesota.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AND DUKE UNIVERSITY
SEVENTH CONFERENCE ON CONSERVATION OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY
Dedicated to Robert Latou Dickinson, M.D.

Ernest R. Groves, Director

The seventh conference on the conservation of marriage and the family will be held at the University of North Carolina and Duke University April 8, 9, and 10, 1941. The first conference, which met during the summer session of 1934, resulted from the interest of college teachers in the methodology of the instruction in preparation for marriage that had developed at the University of North Carolina. Although the program of this seventh conference features discussions of the problems of teaching marriage, it also includes other topics relating to the conservation of marriage and the family and is broader in its appeal. This is in accord with the interests developed by the preceding conference.

As in former years, Duke University is cooperating with the University of North Carolina in this conference. The afternoon program of Wednesday, April 9, will be held on the Duke campus.

The program of this conference, as was true of those preceding, is made up of co-laborers in the field of marriage and the family engaged in practical services or scientific investigation. In order to maintain its purpose, the meeting of specialists for discussion of common problems, the conference is not in any of its sessions open to the general public.

In order also to maintain the intimate character of former conferences and provide the best conditions for discussion, attendance at the Seventh Conference, as in former years, is limited. Two hundred and twenty-five invitations, each numbered, will be issued, so distributed as to permit representation from a wide geographical area and the recognition of many different backgrounds of interest. Those who have not previously accepted an invitation and sent in their check should send a check for \$3.00 (the fee which makes the conference possible) to Ernest R. Groves, P. O. Box 428, University of North Carolina, by March 15. Invitations not accepted by that time will be reissued to those on the waiting list. A limited number of undergraduate students may accompany faculty members coming to the session by invitation. These students will be charged one dollar for attendance at the entire conference or fifty cents for one day's session.

Presiding officers include: Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina and Duke University; Charles A. Ellwood, Duke University; Sidney E. Goldstein, Jewish Institute on Marriage and the Family; Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina; H. L. Pritchett, Southern Methodist University; Mrs. Helen Garvey, Stephens College; Donald S. Klaiss, University of North Carolina; Allen E. Riscodorph, Carnegie Institute.

Special addresses, developing the topic, "Science and the Family," will feature: Making Marriage Work by Frank Howard Richardson, M.D., The Children's Clinic, Black Mountain, North Carolina; The Physician as a Marriage Counselor by Nadina R. Kavinoky, M.D., Los Angeles, California; Adolescence by Emil Novak, M.D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. Professor Groves will pay public tribute to the contributions of Dr. Robert Latou Dickinson.

Discussions and discussion leaders include: The Child and the Family, Frederick H. Allen, M.D., Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic; A Kindergarten Program for Education for Family Life, Worcester Warren, Superintendent of Schools, Bridgeport, Connecticut; Counseling Youth, Roy E. Dickerson, Grand Council De Molay, Kansas City, Missouri; Family Morale and the Defense Program, Mrs. Alice B. Lorenz, University of Toledo; Religion and the Family, L. Foster Wood, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Professional Standards, Harriet Ahlers Houdlette, Chairman, Committee on Protection of Professional Standards; Education for Marriage and the Family in an Urban College, Lawrence E. Clark, Hunter College of the City of New York; Youth Problems and the Defense Program, Mrs. Marion S. McDowell, State College, Pennsylvania; The Family and the Familiar, Edgar T. Thompson, Duke University; Teaching Young Married Couples, Reverend W. Clark Elzey, Marriage and Family Council Inc., Rocky Mountain Area, Colorado Springs; Hasty Marriages and the Draft Act, Mrs. Elwood Street, National Council for Mothers and Babies, Washington, D. C.; A Community Program in Preparation for Marriage and the Family, Gladys Hoagland Groves, Marriage and Family Council, Inc., Chapel Hill; Organization, Ray V. Sowers, Chairman, Committee on Organization.

For complete details write Mr. R. M. Grumman, Extension Division, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress, in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

FEDERAL ACTION PROGRAMS AND COMMUNITY ACTION IN THE SOUTH*

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Atlanta University

WHEN I was asked to prepare a paper on "Federal Action Programs and Community Action in the South," I had some difficulty in interpreting it. At first I thought it meant the influence of Federal programs on community life; then later I concluded that it was the meaning which these programs had for community life. And finally I have tried to express in a general way the lines of more or less conscious thought which the activity of the Federal Government during the depression has given rise to in the South.

Years ago I was fairly well acquainted with the Southern States both city and country; and then after an absence of twenty-five years I returned to pick up the threads of my acquaintanceship. In the last four or five years I have lived in Atlanta and visited central and south Georgia. I have made two or three trips to Florida and Alabama; I have crossed the Mississippi, and visited Louisiana and eastern Texas. From these casual glimpses I seem to have received some idea of current Southern thinking so far

as the general mass of people are concerned.

Uppermost I think I perceive bewilderment and lack of logical coherence in the face of drastic change; and even of upheaval in certain basic ideas. These ideas stemmed from that powerful eighteenth century, when freedom became predominantly freedom for industrial enterprise and when political democracy was more and more refused practical operation in the realm of economic development. This situation has been stressed in England, France, and the northern United States, but perhaps it has not always been so clearly pointed out that the freedom which industrial enterprise had in industrialized States became in the Cotton Kingdom, freedom for agricultural enterprise, which left the plantation with its monarchical constitution, its aristocracy, clients and slaves largely outside the realm of government and reduced government to the narrowest functions. This was not so much a throw-back to seventeenth century paternalism as a new nineteenth century pattern. The dream of developing this new discreet economy into a ruling expanding imperialism was curbed by the

* Prepared for the fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940.

Civil War, and followed by the extremest attempt at democracy ever made in modern times,—the ideal of a democracy which would include ex-slaves as well as freemen and which tried to extend the political power of that democracy over all manner of work and industry. This trial was not conscious nor wholehearted but its main movement would have denied the false divorce between democracy and work which the eighteenth century initiated. The double task failed, not because it was wrong nor impossible, but because in the setting in which it was tried the opposing patterns and forces were far too strong. Neither the South nor the whole of the North believed in allowing back folk to have voice in their own government; but it was more especially because the industrial North and the ruins of the planting South still wanted to keep political power separated from industry. This was finally accomplished by setting up in the South, political institutions which deserve more thorough and critical study than they have received. First of all the real methods of government were elaborately concealed. Effective political rule was a matter of secret conference and manipulation, aided by secret police. It became not only difficult for the mass of people to know what government really was, but even the persons in power were not at all clear as to what was being done and how it was being accomplished. The only power that emerged concentrated and clear in its object was the organization of industry including agriculture, and the one widely believed political tenet was what we may call the mudsill theory of society: namely, that it was to the advantage of the State and to all persons in the State to have at the bottom of society a mass of laborers with the lowest standards of living, the most curtailed wage and

with periodic unemployment. Industry thrived on this dogma and industry ruled politics and the State.

I can remember as a boy in high school, attending regularly the Town Meeting held annually in my New England home. I understood the workings of local government when I was thirteen or fourteen years of age. I knew about the hard won appropriation for the high school; the sums set aside for roads and bridges; the provision for the poor, and the various officials who carried out this work. Many of these officials I knew personally; all of them I knew by sight; and I knew what their duties were. It was easy for me to conceive and talk about democracy. I saw it and lived it. While wealth spoke and had power, the dirtiest Irish laborer had voice and vote. Democracy modified industry.

On the other hand I cannot see how the ordinary boy in the South today, black or white, can understand the functions of government or the ideals of democracy. As a result the field of political power in the South became even more curtailed than it had been. Practically the only function of the voter was to keep down taxes and to put his friends in office on condition that they in turn vote for him. Overlying this was naturally the heritage from slavery which sought to deprive the Negro of any political power whatsoever. Effective effort on the part of the State to lift standards of living and increase useful public expenditures in education, roads, health, etc., was sadly curtailed by the apparent disappearance of taxable property.

The result was a transfer of the burden of taxation from the rich to the poor. Thus on the whole, to the average Southern citizen, democracy functions chiefly to keep down taxes; to secure offices for

one's friends; and campaigns wax fervid only when these matters or the Negro problem are strongly involved. In office-holding there has come among the whites a curious equalitarianism and leveling which often simulates extreme democracy and from the embattled fortresses of local county governments, has arisen the last defense against overtaxation. White solidarity is a direct heritage from slavery now become the chief retreat for mediocrity, inefficiency and tub-thumping. Again, in the curious economic changes of our day, taxable property has apparently disappeared. Certainly the farm dismantled of both soil and tenants cannot bear the burden of public expense; and on the other hand, can one tax business? Is it not clear that the plight of business is the cause of depression and unemployment? So that States like Georgia, Mississippi and others found themselves with mounting expenditures and proportionately decreasing taxable property.

I rode not long since through Gulf Port in lower Mississippi on the beautiful shores of the Gulf of Mexico. I stopped to buy a bottle of milk and the girl in making change asked me: have you any tokens? I must have shown my mystification because without further ado she took my dime and handed me back specimens of a new and local coinage. By this token coinage issued in defiance of court decisions, Mississippi raises her revenue by transferring to the backs of the poor a taxation often amounting to ten percent. In Fulton County, Georgia last year I paid nine dollars tax on personal property amounting to less than five hundred dollars.

On this peculiar relation of politics and industry fell the depression. There came unemployment and relief; there came into sudden and direct contact with the citizen of the Southern community, the far-off

and not too well-liked Federal Government. This Federal Government came not as a tax collector but as an alms giver. A new and direct connection between the Federal Government and the individual citizen arose such as the South had never experienced before; but much more than that, there came a direct connection between politics and industry, between government and work, between voting and wages, such as the South was born believing was absolutely impossible and fundamentally wrong.

This approach of the Federal Government to the citizen did not take place suddenly and did not begin with the depression. It began with a certain breakdown of efficiency in local government and a failure of our economic organization to supply resulting needs. Gradually this government had been approaching armed with reasonable bribes and inducements. The Federal Government said build good roads and we will help pay for them; protect forests against fires and we will furnish funds; we will contribute to public health especially that of mothers and children; and we will help in certain kinds of vocational education. Then came even more intimate and practical aid: subsidies to low-cost housing and social security for the old and the young, the blind and the cripple. There came the astonishing work of the PWA and WPA by which the Federal Government cooperated with localities to assist all sorts of public works and their local improvements. The political power of the Federal Government even encroached upon territory long sacred to private industry, insuring bank deposits, protecting mortgaged property and building cheap homes; and finally the actual furnishing of jobs and food. And it did this in the South at a time when the local government was powerless because of

lack of funds and unwillingness to distribute jobs or furnish any kind of economic security.

Now the great influence and meaning of this coming of the Federal Government into the provincial South was the fact that here was a political agency attending to economic matters; attending to precisely those economic matters in which as the South had long believed politics had no place. Or if it did have a place it was by secret and unacknowledged methods. Cities and counties attended to their own roads through the agencies of profit-making contractors. Banks were run for the benefit of bankers and, if they could not pay their depositors, they calmly failed. Mortgages were private profit-making investments and homes were built chiefly to sell and not to use. But above all the matter of employment and unemployment was primarily the field and dominion of private industrial enterprise. For a government to furnish jobs simply because a man was out of work, or to give away food simply because a man was starving, was at best an exceptional and unorthodox method of enterprise. Above all private industry furnished jobs and, if jobs failed, private industry when ready would restore them. Capitalists gave work. They were to be commended for their generosity, while laborers out of a job were looked upon with suspicion as probably shiftless.

The laziness of the South, especially of the blacks and the poor whites, had become proverbial and a matter of widespread mirth. Always philosophers pointed out that in this happy land the farm was ready to give any person a living who was willing to dig for it. But here and now in the South this old conception was breaking down; the farmers were badly bankrupt and the tenants worse than bankrupt. Industry was slowing down

and wage earners being laid off. However, in steps the Federal Government and no matter with what difficulty or with what waste, with what new interpretation of law and intricacy of administration, it accomplished things. It gave the South food and work and it gave it certain intangible ideals in architecture and industrial planning, in equality of burdens and treatment despite wealth.

Now it seems to me that the essential influence of all this on the South was to bring a question as to the relation of politics to industry; of voting and administration to what had been looked upon always as profit-making business. The Marxian dogma of the fundamental place of economics in the building of civilization was brought home suddenly and effectively to the ordinary and even unlettered Southern citizen: "that in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." If ever in modern time a region illustrated this dogma it is the South. Moreover, beyond this a new economic lesson is being subtly and widely instilled in the Southern consciousness. Business itself in the public mind is gradually beginning to disintegrate into schemes for making money and schemes for public usefulness. I am not sure just how far this distinction has gone but I have noticed with great interest WPA enterprises all over the South; beautiful buildings arising, parks being terraced, roads being ditched, schoolhouses being built; people working together not for the orthodox purpose of making something that can be sold for profit, but for the unorthodox and yet very logical purpose of doing something

that needs to be done. There were often clear cases of malingering and of work, the necessity of which was not clear; and yet the basic division in man's thought between useful work and work which, in addition to its use or necessity, must return a profit is, it seems to me, growing clearer and clearer throughout the land.

I cannot prove how clear this new conception of the basic relations of political activity to economic well-being has become, how deeply it is sunk but certainly the political instrument known as the Federal Government has rescued the South from the depths of depression, and sooner or later there is bound to come the question: how can this political instrument which is the Federal Government be used more widely and efficiently for the well-being of the mass of people? The same thought has come in other parts of the country, but in no section does it meet with greater inherent difficulties of conception of action than in the South. If in local government, politics in the South has meant low taxes and friends in office, with now and then an anti-Negro excursion, in Federal Government it has shown itself through an organized rotten borough system which by widespread disfranchisement of blacks and whites, gives the Southern voter from five to ten times as much power as the Northern or Western voter. It happens that in this crisis the political power of the South is supporting the man and machines who have so drastically increased the field and function of government, and brought relief to the common man. But this is neither logical nor natural to the South. The natural place of the South, according to its post-Civil War training in politics, and its post-Reconstruction surrender to Northern capital, would be to oppose the increased functions of

government and any intrusion of politics in industry.

Something of this reaction to be sure we see, but it is held back by this counter thought; by this deeper questioning: can political activity in the South guide the new relation of politics to industry and, if indeed it can, how shall it do it and toward what ideal? This brings increasing necessity in the South of facing new problems of democracy, of harking straight back to that attempt made in Reconstruction to include all human beings in the realm of democratic control. If this be not done then the South, still prisoned and controlled by old bars and patterns including not only the color line but the eighteenth century conception of freedom of industrial enterprise, becomes the pensioner of a Federal Government with all the difficulties of local administration in a region where local government is neither democratic nor efficient.

How far now between these two extremes can the South find resting place? There can be no doubt of the strong and persistent desire to preserve in the South the social mudsills represented by the poorest workers mostly black, but largely white. Any real democracy has got to share political power with these. The economic mudsill is kept in place by the industrial organization and, until the industrial pattern is changed, the political pattern cannot be free to establish democracy. It is in this way that Southern economic conditions make political freedom impossible. Is the South today ready for such economic revolution? Not yet.

As I look around to these areas with which I have become more or less familiar in the last five or six years, I see in Atlanta and Georgia the old idea of industrial exploitation dominant; the glee at

seeing Northern industry pour into the South in search of cheap labor, of lack of governmental interference and machine politics, of the secret grafting type dominating government activities. This is still the pattern of Atlanta thought no matter what other thinking may be or must be seething below. In Houston, Texas the old pattern goes on. The mass of farmers and farm tenants deserting the wide surrounding land pour into this fabulous city which is probably today the largest in the South. Deserted lands lie dead round about in wide areas but the city is wild with activity, the crowds push and seethe; there is commerce foreign and domestic; there is cotton; there is oil; there is food and profit-making is the great ideal; the machine is dominant and yet across the way in Louisiana there rises the statue of a man who with ruthless dishonesty gave Louisiana bridges instead of dividends.

At Tuskegee rises an institution, facing as it always faced, a paradox. It was placed there by Booker Washington, and his effigy on a United States stamp emphasizes the fact today that the Negro must become a prosperous and efficient farmer; but the Negro has not done this, and, with agriculture in the South, in the United States and in the world over in the plight which it is, he cannot do it. Only revolution in industry and politics such as will restore markets and prices to essential raw material and food can

restore the farmer to civilization. So Tuskegee has waited and waits.

But in Florida perhaps comes the most disconcerting contrasts: rich and beautiful land bursting with fruit whose greatest object seems increasingly to be the pampering of the idle rich and pandering to their waste and gambling. Yet the mass of the people here are poor people struggling for a living and not sure whether that living is coming from digging in the soil or the tips of the rich.

Thus contradiction and enigma are before the South, under this increased and increasing function of government. There lingers undoubtedly the thought that the South will not be compelled to find a new way and new formulae that old conditions one of these days will be restored when the Federal Government will recede to its former distance and inactivity and where the employer will give jobs and give alms. But all this wishful thinking is in vain. Change has come and the South will be more and more compelled to put politics in industry, to reconstruct government so as to give and direct work, and to make that government democratic. I feel that the South is more or less consciously thinking of these things and groping toward solution; and that this thinking is not so much the work of its intellectual leaders, of its colleges and writers, as of the man to whom the Federal Government has given bread.

MOBILITY PATTERNS OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES FROM
A FEEDER COMMUNITY BY DECADES, 1880-1939

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NUMEROUS studies* in the last two decades have dealt with the movement of population from smaller communities. Many of these have attempted to determine the selective differences such as education, intelligence, and wealth between those who leave and those who remain. The present study traces the changing mobility patterns over six decades for a special group of migrants, high school graduates. Reporting on a single community it represents the beginning of a series of studies of smaller communities. The significance of this report is that it develops the pattern of analysis and suggests important contributions which a sizable group of such studies may establish. This series of studies will limit itself to so-called feeder communities, villages which offer limited economic opportunities to provide a livelihood for their annual crop of those entering the employable years. Paraphrasing Le Play such villages might be called *stem communities*.

The feeder or stem community chosen for this study is the village of Hanover and its surrounding trade and cultural area in southern Michigan. Settled in the

Forties of the last century, Hanover had obtained its growth by the late Seventies when its public high school was established. During the six decades covered by this study the village population has remained very close to 320 people. During this period it has served as a center for high school, fraternal, and marketing services for its small hinterland. It has no factories and can offer work to only a limited number of its maturing youth. Like thousands of other villages it has served as a source of population for new areas and growing cities where its high school graduates together with others may find occupations and preferments not available in the stem community.

Where have these graduates located and what are they doing? What is the nature of their horizontal and vertical mobility? What are the steps by which the sons and daughters of this somewhat undifferentiated middle lower class of farmers, small town merchants, and laborers have climbed to different status and functional locations?

Because of the small number of yearly graduates the analysis is by decades, 1880-1889, 1890-1899, and so on except for the decade 1930-1939, where the breakdown is by five-year periods. The inclusion of data for the period 1935-1939 and to a lesser extent 1930-1934 may appear to be unfair because of the limited time for occupational and status placement. This limitation is recognized but, since data for these years suggest the continuation of trends in evidence among those who graduated in earlier decades, the inclusion appears justified.

* Instead of presenting numerous citations here the reader is referred to Bulletin 43 of the Social Science Research Council, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials* by Dorothy Swaine Thomas. An almost complete coverage of studies published prior to 1938 with an excellent statement regarding each is to be found in this bulletin. Another organization of studies is Bulletin 42 of the Social Science Research Council, *Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution within the United States* by Rupert B. Vance. Professor Vance does not describe the several studies but he does present a useful summary of their findings by means of postulates, propositions, and corollaries.

WHERE THEY LIVE

Inspection of Table I reveals the steady decline from 1880 to the present in terms of distance moved and a steady increase of those remaining in the home community.

Whereas one in three located outside of Michigan for the decade 1880-1889, only one in twenty left the State among those graduating forty years later. In contrast only one in six remained in the home community from the first decade. Since 1920 over half are to be found in the Hanover area. The great majority of those leaving the State are to be found in the area between Illinois and the Atlantic seaboard.

the six decades. Possibly the more highly selective group who finished high school in the earlier period, possibly the absence of costly hurdles which now bar easy access to professions in part accounts for over 40 percent entering professions for graduates before 1900. For those of the 1920's only one out of six entered the professional class. It might be claimed that the less than 3 percent with professional status for those graduating in the Thirties will be raised with the passing of years. However, since only one man from this group was in college at the time of this survey, there is little present evidence promising significant future increase from this group.

TABLE I
LOCATION OF GRADUATES IN PERCENTAGES

	1880-89	1890-09	1900-09	1910-19	1920-29	1930-34	1935-39
Hanover	17½	30	35	39	45	58	90
Other Michigan locations....	37½	40	42	50	47	37	3
Outside Michigan.....	32½	29	20	11	5	1	3*

* All cases represented here are in the United States Navy.

The differences in mobility between men and women are not as significant as might be expected. For graduates prior to 1910 women held a somewhat higher residence in the local area while men exceeded in the percentage living in other states. Since 1910 such differences are almost negligible.

Regardless of location to what extent did the graduates locate in larger urban centers? Except for those of the first decade a very small percentage have found their way to the great metropolitan centers. Further, in recent decades the majority of graduates have remained or located in towns not significant larger than Hanover.

WHAT THEY DO

The occupational locations of the men graduates changed significantly during

Not only do a smaller proportion of recent graduates now locate in professions but also a smaller number. This real decline dates from 1910.

Those remaining on farms and entering the laboring group have experienced decided increase. From the first two decades only one in twenty entered the laboring group; since 1910 at least one in three claim this location.

In addition to the fewer entering professions the nature of the professions chosen has also changed. The first three decades furnished 5 college professors, 1 private school head, 7 high school teachers, 3 physicians, 2 lawyers, 2 ministers, 4 dentists, 1 social worker, 5 engineers, 1 ship designer, and 3 journalists. The next thirty years made no contribution to law, medicine, the ministry, journalism

or social work. They did furnish 5 engineers, 1 chemist, 1 army major, 1 college professor, and 12 who are following high school teaching as a life profession.

Interesting also at this point is the declining percentage of men who chose teaching as an initial profession shifting later in many cases to other professions or activities. Of those from 1880 to 1919

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF GRADUATES LIVING IN TOWNS OF
OVER 1,000 POPULATION

1880-89	1890-99	1900-09	1910-19	1920-29	1930-34	1935-39
71	50	55	58	42	35	2

TABLE III
OCCUPATIONAL LOCATIONS OF MEN GRADUATES BY PERCENTAGES

	1880-89	1890-99	1900-09	1910-19	1920-29	1930-34	1935-39
Farmer.....	20	29	24	18	31	31	45
Unskilled.....	0	0	0	9	0	8	16
Skilled and semi-skilled.....	4	4	15	24	31	40	9
Clerical.....	4	0	8	6	4	0	2
Proprietary.....	16	16	15	15	10	6	0
Professional.....	40	42	30	26	16	6	0

at least three out of every ten men had teaching experience. With the development of more severe professional standards after the war, only two in ten graduating during the Twenties taught, while the classes from 1930 to 1934 sent only one in seventeen into teaching.

An even larger percentage of women served for a time in the teaching profession. However, recent decades also show a sharp decline in this case. Whereas over sixty percent of graduates between 1880 and 1919 served as teachers, the percentage for the Twenties dropped to 30 percent, and for women in the classes from 1930-1934 only 16 percent had this experience.

Teaching furnished the ladder by which

many climbed to other professions in the earlier decades. So long as the necessary academic preparation was limited to a high school education, the farmer's son and daughter found easy access to the training and rewards which teaching offered; with more recent barriers of expensive education such climbing is to a decided extent denied to children from the lower income brackets. This teaching experience doubtless provided an early sense of confidence and responsibility not now available to high school graduates. It also furnished the source of expenses for later college training. The large majority who attended college from these earlier decades preceded and often inter-

TABLE IV
PERCENTAGE OF GRADUATES HAVING COLLEGE
EXPERIENCE

	1880-89	1890-99	1900-09	1910-19	1920-29	1930-34	1935-39
Men.....	32	50	52	50	37	6	10
Women.....	20	37	32	29	28	8	7

rupted their college training with teaching experience. This fact may be of major importance in explaining the much higher percentage of graduates who continued with college education in these earlier decades.

Table IV reveals a drop from ratios of nearly one out of two for men and almost one in three for women who attended college from classes prior to 1920 to that

of less than one in ten for both sexes for those graduating from Hanover High School during the Thirties.

If the experience here is typical the phenomenal increases in college and university enrollments which characterized the Twenties and late Thirties are not accounted for from village communities. This represents a sad contrast to the contribution made by this high school during the first four decades. Of the four men entering college from the classes 1935-1939, none has finished and only one at the time of this study was then in college, and he in his freshman year.

SUMMARY

No one can inspect the data which provided the substance for this presentation without feeling that the expressions of genius and talent which distinguished the first decades of graduates are wanting in these later years. The decade 1880-1889 was by far the most productive. Of the five graduates during the sixty years who have been accorded recognition in *Who's Who in America*, all but one are from this decade. Four of 25 men from this period share this distinction. Two were long time deans of agriculture in the Universities of Illinois and Missouri, respectively, one served on numerous commissions and was head of geology at Goucher, and one served for many years as head of the New York Charities Aid Society. From this decade also came others who attained some distinction in the fields of poetry, law, and government service. While neither the Nineties or the period 1900-1909 approached this record the stimulus of distinguished accomplishment was still in evidence. This stimulus appears to be wanting in the decades beginning with 1910. While some from this period have entered the professions, the heights of attainment

reached by them appears to be limited to such positions as teacher, athletic director, or perchance superintendent in some small school system or engineer for the highway department.

One might ask whether the vision has passed or has genius been drained during the earlier decades. I hesitate to apply the Rossian analysis of "fished out ponds" although this might be used as one interpretation. There is some evidence that the vision of accomplishment was somewhat more intense during earlier decades. A personal knowledge of the history of this community leads the writer to believe that the stimulation provided by certain teachers of the Eighties has seldom been equaled in latter decades. Perhaps the answer is to be found in the closing of opportunities and the more severe competition in the world which later graduates entered or attempted to enter. The closing of easy access to professions constitutes a real barrier for the sons of farmers and laborers who for the most part can ill afford the cost of modern professional preparation.

Hanover was once a feeder community to the professions, growing cities, and to newer areas. By this service her youth found opportunity for work and distinction not available in the home community, and at the same time the increasing labor and professional needs of other areas were satisfied. During the Twenties this movement declined and in the Thirties almost ceased. Can it be that a long time exodus of the educated young reacts on a people like overcropping reacts on a soil? The later rapid growth of industrial cities in Michigan has drawn a declining contribution from a village which should normally be regarded as a natural source for such growth. Would other feeder towns in Ohio and Wisconsin or in states

farther removed from the industrial area as in Kentucky or Kansas register similar trends? Does distance from metropolitan centers or the number of decades a village is exposed to the metropolitan pull affect the nature of horizontal and vertical mobility? Do agricultural villages pre-

sent a different pattern of mobility for their youth than that found in mining and small industrial towns? Only a comprehensive examination of the experiences of many carefully selected communities will permit the drawing of conclusions having general application.

NOTE ON SIZE OF COMMUNITY AS A FACTOR IN CLUB MEMBERSHIP AMONG HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS*

It has been established almost beyond reasonable doubt that in both a rural and an urban environment, fewer persons of low than of high socioeconomic status belong to organizations, and that those of low socioeconomic status who do have club affiliations have fewer than do those of high socioeconomic status.¹ There is also evidence that persons of high intelligence, at least among college students, show a greater participation in organizations than do persons of lower intelligence.² Data are here presented which suggest that a third variable is also associated with club membership, namely size of community.

These data were secured by means of a questionnaire filled in by 221 women college students from communities throughout the Middle West. The questions related to club affiliations at the high school level, including such data as age at entrance to membership in various kinds of clubs, age at dropping of membership, and reasons for dropping. The materials were analyzed with a view to determining the influence of size of community on these findings. Only three sizes of community were distinguished—cities under 10,000, cities of 10,000 to 100,000, and cities of 100,000 and over.

There were no statistically significant differences among the several types of community with respect to (1) average age at which the girls joined clubs, (2) average age at which they dropped club membership, (3) average duration of club membership, or (4) reasons for withdrawal.

There was, however, a small but statistically significant difference in the average number of clubs joined by girls in the several types of communities, particularly between girls in cities of 100,000 and over and girls in the smaller communities. The findings may be summarized concisely as follows:

	Cities under 10,000	Cities 10,000- 100,000	Cities 100,000 and over
Average number clubs joined.....	5.35	5.18	3.78
Difference.....		.17	1.40
Critical ratio.....		3.00	23.00

The most obvious explanation that occurs at this point is that in the larger cities the competition of commercialized amusements is greater than in the smaller cities, so that the children in the larger communities do not feel as much need of clubs in their leisure time activities. The traditionally greater friendliness in smaller communities may also be reflected in these data, although this is perhaps more questionable on the high school level.

* This study was begun as a voluntary project by freshmen in a course on American Contemporary Civilization at Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Mo., in the fall of 1939. The schedule was drawn up under the direction of the instructor, Dr. Florence W. Schaper. The statistical computations were made by Miss Geraldine Rasdal, under the supervision of Dr. Jessie Bernard.

¹ R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown* (1928), p. 308; Norms for the Chapin Social Participation Scale (1937); E. W. Burgess, *The Adolescent in the Family* (1934), pp. 110-111; Homer Rainey, *Youth Tell Their Story* (1938); Raymond G. Fuller, *A Study of Youth Needs and Services in Muncie, Indiana* (1938), Table 33; Jack Robertson, *A Study of Youth Needs and Services in Dallas, Texas*, Vol. I (1937), pp. 140, 142, 143, 145; G. A. Lundberg, *et al.*, *Leisure: A Suburban Study* (1934); D. H. Lindstrom, "Forces Affecting Participation of Farm People in Rural Organization," *University of Illinois Bulletin* 423, p. 105.

² F. S. Chapin, "Research Studies of Extracurricular Activities and Their Significance in Reflecting Social Changes," *Jour. Ed. Sociol.* IV: 491-498 (April, 1931).

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

STATUS OF CHINESE IN THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA

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TO MANY sociologists the Delta is a strip of fertile territory one hundred miles wide running from the lobby of the Peabody Hotel in Memphis southward to Catfish Row in Vicksburg, three hundred miles away. It is peopled by fabulous characters, both black and white, whose activities have been chronicled by such popular sociologists as David Cohn of Greenville and George Lee and Nat Williams of Beale Street,¹ and whose culture patterns, tensions, and group aggressions have been examined and recorded by scientists such as Johnson, Gardner, Powdermaker, Davis, and Dollard.²

Although much has been written about the planter and the sharecropper and about the Negro and the white, almost nothing has appeared in print regarding the Chinese in the Delta region. This group, now numbering approximately

nine hundred, which holds an intermediate position between the white and the Negro in the caste system of Mississippi, is concentrated, almost without exception, into one occupational class—that of the independent merchant. The scope of this paper is limited to a brief resumé of the history, distribution, and institutions of the Chinese in the Delta section of Mississippi as they relate to the present position of groups in the caste structure.

A Mr. Wong was the first member of the group to settle in Mississippi. He left Canton to engage as a contract laborer on the railroads in California. From San Francisco he shipped to New Orleans where he gained a position on one of the Mississippi River side-wheelers operating between that city and Rosedale. After a few months on the boats he saved enough capital to start a small grocery store in Rosedale. His arrival in Mississippi in 1875 was some twenty-five years after the first Chinese migrated to California during the gold rush. News of his success spread to other Cantonese both in California and in China until today, sixty-five years later, there are over three hundred Chinese stores in the Delta.³

¹ David Cohn, *God Shakes Creation* (New York, 1935). George W. Lee, *Beale Street* (New York: Robert Balou, 1934).

² John Dollard, *Class and Caste in a Southern Town* (Yale University Press, 1937). Allison Davis and Burleigh Gardner, *Mss. on Natchez, Mississippi*. Charles Johnson, *In the Shadow of the Plantation* (University of North Carolina Press, 1937). Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (Yale University Press, 1939).

³ Article in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, February 14, 1937.

For the factors responsible for this amazing growth we must look beyond the form and organization of the Chinese community, although these may well play an important role. Wherever the Chinese have gone, especially in the southern Pacific, they have tended to go into business and have seemed fitted to become leaders in the mercantile world.

The economic structure of life in the cotton producing areas of the South is based upon a precarious credit system known colloquially as "furnish" and "deducts." Under this system the credit merchant, who was often also the landlord, furnished food and clothing and tobacco against the time when the cotton would be harvested. The interest charged the tenant or share-cropper for his "furnish" in the Mississippi Delta region averaged more than fifty percent, if the sample studied by Johnson, Embree, and Alexander is representative.⁴ In addition to the exploitative interest rates the commissary type of stores carried little choice and selection of products. The share-cropper, both white and Negro, was expected to patronize the credit merchant or go without. It was into this situation that the Chinese merchant came. At first he served only the poorer classes of whites and Negroes whose periods of cash expenditure were quite limited. Later he came to serve the independent farmers, the townspeople, and the tenants from the smaller plantations which were unable to provide their own commissaries. Year by year these stores, run on a cash basis, became stronger until today, two of the leading stores in Greenville and Cleveland are owned by Chinese. One of these, Joes Brothers in

Cleveland, is said to be the outstanding grocery concern in the Delta region.

Another factor in attracting the group to this area was the fact that Chinese were not the victims of organized prejudice and segregation until recently. Before 1925 Chinese attended the same schools and churches as members of the dominant white group. In some individual cases there may have been conflicts, as, for example, where a Chinese boy received the highest honors at the Ruleville school and the white citizens, being jealous, excluded all Orientals from the school. Even today the Chinese Student Association of the South holds its conventions at the Peabody Hotel in Memphis⁵ although Negro organizations are barred from the use of this hotel at all times.

Until a definite ruling had been made, the Chinese had identified themselves with the dominant race in assigning themselves a caste position. The case, which the Chinese fought vigorously, was the expulsion of Joe Tin Lun from the white schools of Dublin, Mississippi. His attorney contended that if he were excluded from the Dublin white schools, he, as a Chinese, would be denied the "privilege of the most favored nation," as provided in the Burlingame Treaty between the United States and China. The position of the State was equally clearly stated by Associate Justice McGowen of the Mississippi Supreme Court.⁶ Justice McGowen pointed out that "the term white race is limited to the Caucasian race, and the term colored race includes all other races." He further stated that "the dominant purpose of the segregated school system in Mississippi was to preserve the purity and integrity of the white

⁴ C. Johnson, E. Embree, and W. W. Alexander, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* (University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 32.

⁵ *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 26, 1937.

⁶ *School and Society*, 28, (September 29, 1928), p. 389.

race, and prevent amalgamation; and further, to preserve, as far as possible, the social system of race segregation. Under the constitution the Negro is an American citizen; then how can an alien Chinaman complain when he is assigned to a school provided, under our law, for the colored races?"

According to the laws of Mississippi then, the position of the Chinese in the caste system was defined as that of the colored race. In practice, however, the group refused to accept the position assigned to them, and their children refused to attend the Negro schools. After ten years a compromise was effected, and Chinese schools were organized in both Cleveland and Greenville. Two white teachers were employed by the school board and paid from tax funds. This sets the Chinese schools apart from the Negro institutions where white teachers are never employed, except in private missionary schools. In each school there are two Chinese teachers paid by a three dollar a month per pupil tuition fee. In some communities the children are taught by tutors, as most of them were during the period between exclusion from the white schools and the establishment of the Chinese schools.

A third factor aiding the growth of the Chinese community was the fact that in many instances the stores were passed from father to son or to some other relative. During the early days the men would leave the Delta region for the trip home where they would be married, have children, and then return alone to the United States. After the boys in the family had been reared and educated in China they migrated to the Delta to take over the stores from their fathers. Family groups did not appear, commonly, until the twentieth century. In fact, the 1930 census lists 438 males to 123 female

Chinese,⁷ including the children, which is substantially the correct ratio between the sexes even though the Chinese estimate their own population at a somewhat higher figure.⁸ The establishment of the two schools has doubled the number of wives in the group and will likely lead to a more permanent population.

Greenville has the largest Chinese population with 85 in 1939; and it is followed by Rosedale with 28, Cleveland with 25, Clarksdale and Webb City with 20 each, Cohoma and Duncan with 18, Pace with 17, Merigold with 16, and Drew and Alligator with 14 each. For the most part, however, the nine hundred Chinese are scattered in one and two family units throughout the small towns of the Delta. Even in Mound Bayou, the all Negro community, founded by Isaiah Montgomery, there is one non-Negro, the Chinese grocery man. With few exceptions all of the Chinese in the Delta can be classified as merchants. These exceptions are the four school teachers who have been imported from California, and Joe Im, and Jim Sang. Joe Im is a planter near Cleveland who owns 160 acres of cotton. Jim Sang is a truck gardener who ships Chinese herbs, beans, and mustards to Chicago's Chinatown. The type of Chinese occupational specialization found in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and other urban centers is missing in villages and towns of the Delta. There are no Chinese hand laundries, curio shops, chop suey cafés, or lottery establishments. The Chinese has established himself in the role of the retail cash grocer

⁷ *Fifteenth Census*, Population, III, Part 1, p. 33, table 41.

⁸ Official census figures are generally believed to have failed to enumerate all who resided there at that time; moreover, unofficial estimates for the Chinese population of the area give a total of approximately 900.

and he is attempting to defend and expand that position. There may be poor white and Negro share-croppers, but there are no Chinese in this economic class. Nearly all of the stores are operated by men, but there are notable exceptions; for example, the widow Ho-She, who has run a grocery store in Greenville for 14 years.

The most important institution in the Chinese community is the economic one, the stores. Originally, they were conceived of as a temporary means of increasing the standard of living upon return to the homeland. With a rapidly increasing child population which has already reached the two hundred mark, the family, school, and church are of increasing importance.

Family life, always important in Chinese tradition and social structure, has shifted from a wife and family in Canton to a wife and family in America. Many of the merchants of today are American born and educated and they are planning to make their homes in the Delta. Recently there have been a number of Chinese weddings in the First (white) Baptist Church in Cleveland. Plans are under discussion now for the establishment of several Chinese residences near the Chinese School which is half a mile from the town of Cleveland. It is interesting to speculate whether miniature Chinatowns will appear in the Delta to take the place of the old custom of living in the store. Will residential segregation be another factor in determining the position of this small group caught in the caste situation?

Perhaps the school, more than any other institution, symbolizes the ambivalent position of the group within the caste system. Having white teachers, but excluded from white schools, the Chinese are at present in an intermediate position in the caste structure. The language, curriculum, and textbooks provided by

public funds all tend to speed up the assimilation process, but the fact of segregation and stress on Chinese language and customs all tend to develop in-group loyalties and pride. Mr. Yut Wai Young, the teacher at Cleveland, is a regular contributor to the leading Chinese periodicals, and is active in support of Chinese resistance to the Japanese invasion. He has also been instrumental in interesting the Chinese Student Association of the South in visiting the two schools and encouraging the students. Both schools have a relatively large group of white patrons and friends⁹ whose interest reflects the position of the Chinese in the biracial caste system of the South.

Ten years ago Chinese were both members and communicants of the First (white) Baptist Church of Cleveland, Mississippi. Today they are still members of the church, but they must attend special services. Sometimes the Chinese teacher will act in the role of the teacher, and often the white pastor will conduct the service. As members of the church the Chinese are granted the right to use the First Baptist Church for weddings and other functions. At these affairs invited members of the white community may participate. The religious contacts between members of the two groups, no longer being on a basis of complete equality, are indicative of a trend toward a more complete enforcement of the caste system upon the Chinese community.

Leaders of the Chinese community, although careful to be inarticulate on the matter of caste, do give indications of their feelings about being excluded from white schools. One informant wanted me to be sure to understand that the reason the Chinese children were excluded

⁹ Under the leadership of the Rev. I. D. Evanson of the First Baptist Church in Cleveland, a former missionary in China.

from the Rosedale schools was that some of them were part Negro—an apt illustration of the informant's unwillingness to identify himself with the members of the other colored race. The writer of the paper believes that as the number of Chinese in the Delta increases it will become more difficult to maintain an intermediate position between the Negro on one hand and the whites on the other. In nearby Memphis where the Chinese outnumber the Japanese thirty-four to

seven,¹⁰ the latter may be buried in the same section of the cemeteries as the whites, but for the Chinese plots are reserved in the Negro section. This may not be prophetic of the ultimate status of the Chinese in the South, but a study of the relationship of the Chinese, whites, and Negroes in this area seems to point inescapably toward an inferior position of the Chinese in the southern communities.

¹⁰ *Fifteenth Census*, Population, III, Part 1, p. 63, Table 59.

A REGIONAL STUDY OF THE NEGRO

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THE Negro occupies a sort of two-fold position in our national life. In the first place, he is a foreigner. In contrast to this, he has lived for enough generations in this land to be considered a part of it. In fact his music is said to be the only indigenous American music. Considered as a foreign element, he is a most disturbing one. Considered as a native element, he is still a disturbing one. Moreover, although he has shown capacity for becoming accustomed to new situations, he is still forced to be a separate part of the community life in the city.

To say that he is a disturbing element is not to be construed as meaning that he is antisocial or a problem because of his own behavior. No criticism attaches to the statement; and no reflection on the Negro is intended. The simple fact is that he is, in a white society, a problem.

Originally imported by the slave trade in the northern colonies, he drifted southward as he lived longer in a warmer climate. New Englanders found slavery

unprofitable economically. The concentration in the South became so heavy that in the "Black Belt" counties, more than half of the population, even today, is colored. The white South "keeps him in his place," and resents the meddling and sometimes maudlin sympathy of the North for their "black brothers." The industrial North accepts his presence publicly while refusing to recognize him privately; while at the same time it points a scornfully self-righteous finger at the South for its lynchings and for the living conditions it sets for him. Ironically, the lynching party is largely an outgrowth of the original Ku Klux Klan—a measure adopted by a once powerful class to restore themselves to the rights and privileges that had been snatched from them, shall we say, by northern carpetbaggers and southern scalawags. This finger pointing is not only unnecessary, but also false: witness race riots and Negro segregation in the North. Neither section recognizes that the Negro in the North is an entirely different person from the one in the South.

These two sections have produced marked differences; it seems profitable to point out some that may account for or exercise control over his manner of life.

This paper is, therefore, a brief survey of Negro life in the six regions of the United States as they are defined by Howard W. Odum. Data from the 1930 Census are used to indicate both the nature and extent of these variations. The body of the paper is divided into the following sections: Population, Urbanization, Sex, Children, Schooling and Literacy, Professional Life and Economy, Summary and Conclusions.

TABLE I

NEGRO POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION, UNITED STATES, 1790-1930

DATE	POPULATION	PERCENT	DATE	POPULATION	PERCENT
	<i>thousands</i>			<i>thousands</i>	
1790	757	19.3	1870	4,880	12.7
1800	1,002	18.9	1880	6,580	13.1
1810	1,377	19.0	1890	7,488	11.9
1820	1,771	18.4	1900	8,833	11.6
1830	2,328	18.1	1910	9,827	10.7
1840	2,873	16.8	1920	10,463	9.9
1850	3,638	15.7	1930	11,891	9.7
1860	4,441	14.1			

POPULATION

Although the Negro population has shown an increase in every decade, the percentage of the population that is Negro has shown a continuous decrease. From the First Census in 1790 to the Fifteenth, in 1930, the percentage dropped from over nineteen to less than ten, even though the actual number increased over eleven million. Table I shows the data by census years.

It is evident from the foregoing that the increase in population is subject to considerable variation and fluctuation; for example, the decade 1860-69 brought

an increase of 400,000, and the following period showed an increase four times as large.¹ The 1890-99 decade showed a gain of 1,400,000, the 1900 period showed a round million, followed by another drop of 400,000, yet the 1920-29 years brought another gain of 1,400,000.

When the population totals are assigned to the regions, the shifts become evident. Here is found part of the basis for the writer's statement that the Negro has capacity for adjusting to new situations. Table II gives percentages by regions.

Even with the noticeable losses suffered by the Southeast, that region still domi-

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION IN EACH REGION, 1900-1930

REGION	1900	1910	1920	1930
United States	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northeast	8.8	9.2	10.9	14.3
Southeast	76.8	76.3	73.1	65.4
Southwest	7.6	8.5	8.6	8.8
Middle States	4.9	4.9	6.8	9.9
Northwest	0.8	0.8	0.85	0.88
Far West	0.17	0.31	0.45	0.76

nates the Negro population by having almost two-thirds of the total and more than four times as many colored inhabitants as any other region. There would seem to be no reason to fear loss of this commanding position for some time to come. The greatest increases are in the Northeast and the Middle States, which are industrial, as well as agricultural, regions. Though the Far West contains but an insignificant Negro population, its rate of increase has been keeping pace with the tremendous general population growth of southern California since 1900.

¹ Perhaps due to the undercount of the 1870 Census in the South.

Two things are clear thus far: first, that the Negro is becoming a constantly lessening proportion of the total population, and second, marked shifts in population occur among the various regions. It might be well to ascertain how these changes are taking place in smaller units, like the states. Table III shows the percentage of population that is Negro in those states where a trend is marked and might be deemed statistically significant. The basis of noting significance is that there shall have been a change of at least one-seventh the 1900 base percentage, except in those states with a percentage of less than ten, where significance is arbitrarily put at four-tenths of the 1900 base. The writer grants that this is a rough basis, but it is definite and simple enough to be clear. No reversals of importance were found, and it is extremely unlikely that they would occur in the short span of thirty years.

Increases should be noted in the larger industrial states like New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Michigan. Illinois has Chicago, and Michigan makes automobiles for the world. The other increases, noted in California, Nevada, and Arizona, are in states with a very small colored population.

Decreases are shown in most of the southern states. Arkansas also showed a decrease, but it was too small to be incorporated in the table. The situation in this part of the country is noteworthy. Goodrich has shown that there are two principal streams of migration northward: the one forming along the eastern coast states contributes to the population of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; while the river stream forms in the lower Mississippi basin and feeds the growing colored population of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan.

Thirty-four states had a Negro popula-

tion of more than ten thousand in 1930. Table IV shows both the number of these inhabitants and the percentage of the total population of the various states. There is wide distribution, even though the concentration is so heavy in the South. Every region is represented: the southern regions by all their states except New Mexico, the Middle States by all but Minnesota, which is over the nine thousand mark, the Northeast by eight states, with little Rhode Island hanging on to the nine thousand mark also. Only the Northwest with three states and the Far West with California are laggards.

Only a few cities had a Negro population of more than forty thousand by the 1930 Census, as is shown in Table V. It is obvious that in the North the Negro is concentrated in the cities, and that in the South, even in spite of a few cities with a large colored population, the rural Negro is in the majority.

The following conclusions, based on the foregoing data, seem justified: (1) Negro movement is mainly from the South to the North. (2) Negro population in the West, except for Texas and California, is likely to remain insignificant for decades. (3) Because of the Negro influx, the problems connected with him are likely to become more acute in the North. (4) The Negro influx will be largely into the urban centers.

URBANIZATION

The Negro lives under radically different conditions in various sections of the country. One of the most striking of these is the urban-rural situation. No one who has not seen the plantation Negro at home and the resident of the colored section of a large city can comprehend the difference made in his character by this one factor. The census gives the percentage of the population in each

state that is urban—living in towns of 2,500 or more. A rough measure of urbanization may be made by taking the

measures will be introduced later, such weighting has seemed unprofitable. The data are presented in Table VI.

TABLE III
PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION THAT IS NEGRO IN SELECTED STATES, 1900-1930

STATE	1900	1910	1920	1930	TREND	
					Increase	Decrease
Northeast						
New York	1.4	1.5	1.9	3.3	x	
New Jersey	3.2	3.5	3.7	5.2	x	
Pennsylvania	2.5	2.5	3.3	4.5	x	
Delaware	16.6	15.4	13.6	13.7		x
Maryland	19.8	17.9	16.9	16.9		x
District of Columbia	31.1	28.1	25.1	27.1		x
West Virginia	4.5	5.3	5.9	6.6	x	
Southeast						
Virginia	35.6	32.6	29.9	26.8		x
North Carolina	33.0	31.6	29.8	29.0		x
South Carolina	58.4	55.2	51.4	45.6		x
Georgia	46.7	45.1	41.7	36.8		x
Florida	43.7	41.0	34.0	29.4		x
Kentucky	13.3	11.4	9.8	8.6		x
Tennessee	23.8	21.7	19.3	18.3		x
Alabama	45.2	42.5	38.4	35.7		x
Mississippi	58.5	56.2	52.2	50.2		x
Louisiana	47.1	43.1	38.9	36.9		x
Southwest						
Arizona	1.5	1.0	2.4	2.5	x	
Texas	20.4	17.7	15.9	14.7		x
Middle States						
Ohio	2.3	2.3	3.2	4.7	x	
Indiana	2.3	2.2	2.8	3.5	x	
Illinois	1.8	1.9	2.8	3.5	x	
Michigan	0.7	0.6	1.6	3.5	x	
Wisconsin	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.4	x	
Northwest						
Montana	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.2		x
Wyoming	1.0	1.5	0.7	0.6		x
Far West						
Nevada	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.6	x	
California	0.7	0.9	1.1	1.4	x	

median for each region although this is open to considerable possible error unless weighted, especially in those regions with but four states. As more accurate

From the above it is evident that in all except the southern regions the Negro is mostly urban. In the Northeast, 8 of the 13 states have a percentage higher

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF NEGROES AND PERCENTAGE NEGRO
POPULATION IS OF TOTAL POPULATION IN
STATES WITH OVER 10,000 NEGROES, 1930
(Population in thousands)

STATE	NUMBER	PER- CENT
Northeast		
Massachusetts.....	52	1.2
New York.....	412	3.3
New Jersey.....	209	5.2
Pennsylvania.....	431	4.5
Connecticut.....	29	1.8
Delaware.....	33	13.7
District of Columbia.....	132	27.1
Maryland.....	276	16.9
West Virginia.....	115	6.6
Southeast		
Virginia.....	650	26.8
North Carolina.....	919	29.0
South Carolina.....	794	45.6
Georgia.....	1,071	36.8
Florida.....	432	29.4
Alabama.....	945	35.7
Mississippi.....	1,010	50.2
Tennessee.....	478	18.3
Kentucky.....	216	8.6
Arkansas.....	478	25.8
Louisiana.....	776	36.9
Southwest		
Texas.....	855	14.7
Oklahoma.....	172	7.2
Arizona.....	11	2.5
Middle States		
Ohio.....	309	4.7
Indiana.....	112	3.5
Illinois.....	329	4.3
Michigan.....	169	3.5
Wisconsin.....	11	0.4
Iowa.....	17	0.7
Missouri.....	123	6.2
Northwest		
Nebraska.....	14	1.0
Kansas.....	66	3.5
Colorado.....	11	1.1
Far West		
California.....	81	1.4

than 75, hence the abnormally low percentages are in the minority. The foregoing gives a quite different picture from the figures showing the percentage of urban population that is Negro.

Table VII shows that the Negro population tends to become urban. Now,

TABLE V
NUMBER OF NEGROES IN CITIES WITH NEGRO
POPULATION OVER 40,000, 1930
(Population in thousands)

CITY	NUM- BER	CITY	NUM- BER
<i>North</i>		<i>South</i>	
New York.....	328	New Orleans....	130
Chicago.....	234	Birmingham....	99
Philadelphia...	220	Memphis.....	97
Baltimore.....	142	Atlanta.....	90
Washington...	132	Houston.....	63
Detroit.....	120	Richmond.....	53
St. Louis.....	94	Jacksonville...	48
Cleveland.....	72	Louisville.....	47
Pittsburgh.....	55	Norfolk.....	44
Cincinnati.....	48	Nashville.....	43
Indianapolis...	44		

TABLE VI
PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO POPULATION THAT IS URBAN
IN MEDIAN STATES OF EACH REGION, 1930

REGION	PERCENT IN MEDIAN STATE	RANGE OF PER CENTS IN STATES
Northeast.....	78.9	27.2-94.6
Southeast.....	29.6	13.3-51.6
Southwest.....	43.6	38.6-60.3
Middle States.....	92.0	75.9-96.5
Northwest.....	77.3	52.2-95.3
Far West.....	84.8	70.5-87.0

granted that such is the case, it seems that the Negro proportion of the urban population is an insignificant factor except in the Southeast and in but two states of the Northeast. In these two the percentage is higher than ten. In short, although the Negro does live in the city, he is such a small part of it, except in

regions that are predominantly rural, that it would seem he might be ignored. Such is not the case, however, for the Negro section of a city acquires a new character, usually deemed undesirable.

Corresponding data for the rural population appear in Table VIII.

The same story is found in that two of these regions have a considerably larger

TABLE VII

PERCENTAGE OF URBAN POPULATION THAT IS NEGRO
IN MEDIAN STATES OF EACH REGION, 1930

REGION	PERCENT IN MEDIAN STATE	RANGE OF PERCENTS IN STATES
Northeast.....	2.9	0.0-16.4
Southeast.....	30.4	14.6-39.5
Southwest.....	5.0	1.6-13.8
Middle States.....	5.1	0.6- 6.0
Northwest.....	0.6	0.2- 7.0
Far West.....	0.9	0.4- 1.7

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE OF RURAL POPULATION THAT IS NEGRO
IN MEDIAN STATES OF EACH REGION, 1930

REGION	PERCENT IN MEDIAN STATE	RANGE OF PERCENTS IN STATES
Northeast.....	1.5	0.1-17.8
Southeast.....	31.3	6.0-52.4
Southwest.....	3.6	0.4- 6.6
Middle States.....	0.6	0.0- 3.0
Northwest.....	0.1	0.0- 1.3
Far West.....	0.25	0.1- 0.7

Negro population than the others. Also two of the Northeast states have a considerably larger Negro population than the others; these two being Delaware and Maryland. It is evident that the colored inhabitants are a rather minor quantity except in the Southeast. The medians tell a straight story, and the upper limits in the ranges bear it out very well.

Some rank-difference correlations were

run, with the following results. A stands for the percentage of Negro population that is urban in each state, B for the urban population that is Negro, and C for the rural population that is Negro. The reversal of the Northwest and Far West regions in the AB correlation is noteworthy. With four of the correlations being negative, and two running significantly positive, it would seem that in the regions where the Negro is so markedly a newcomer, he gravitates and is drawn to the city even more than is ordinarily the case. Perhaps the older colored settlers were farmers, and some of them find it hard to break away. This would

TABLE IX

RANK-DIFFERENCE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN POPU-
LATION PERCENTAGES FOR STATES BY REGIONS,
1930

REGION	RHO AB	RHO BC
Northeast.....	-.233	.937
Southeast.....	-.278	.927
Southwest.....	-1.000	.800
Middle States.....	-.449	.917
Northwest.....	.646	.800
Far West.....	.401	1.000

reflect the lack of any Negro agricultural tradition in these two mountainous regions. See Table IX.

One more piece of evidence concerning urbanization is too lengthy to be given in full. For four states, Illinois, Indiana, Arizona, and Colorado, the most populous and the least populous counties were tabulated with the percentage of Negroes in each one. The medians of these percentages are shown in Table X. Census data list the rural farm, rural nonfarm, and urban population of the colored people, which is given for these same states in Table XI.

SEX

The third division of our study is concerned with the sex divisions and marital condition of the sexes. The population of census divisions of the country by sex is not comparable for 1900 and 1930, because of the different groupings of the states used. Tables XII and XIII give the essential data for the two stated years.

TABLE X

MEDIANS OF PERCENTAGES OF NEGRO POPULATION IN MOST AND LEAST POPULOUS COUNTIES OF SELECTED STATES, 1930

STATE	MEDIAN OF MOST POPULOUS COUNTIES	MEDIAN OF LEAST POPULOUS COUNTIES
Illinois.....	3.0 (9)*	0.15 (8)*
Indiana.....	3.1 (10)	0.15 (10)
Arizona.....	2.7 (4)	0.4 (4)
Colorado.....	0.8 (8)	0.1 (8)

* Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of counties.

TABLE XI

NEGRO POPULATION IN SELECTED STATES, BY RESIDENCE, 1930

STATE	RURAL FARM	RURAL NON-FARM	URBAN
Illinois.....	35,000	20,000	274,000
Arizona.....	1,200	4,400	5,100
California.....	3,000	4,000	74,000
Colorado.....	400	1,000	10,400

The great concentration in the South is evident. A somewhat larger number of males is found in those two divisions which the Negro probably entered last—North Central and West. This might reflect the earlier entrance of younger men, unmarried, who were going to new places. Such a movement among married people would be less likely unless they were sure of work. In this case there is no marked predominance of either sex in any region when the comparative sizes of the populations are considered.

The state medians for marital conditions of males and females is given in Table XIV. Here is a puzzling question,—why are there so many more single males and so many more widowed females? The percentages are significantly different.

TABLE XII

NEGRO POPULATION BY SEX AND CENSUS DIVISIONS, 1900

(Population in thousands)

DIVISION	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
North Atlantic.....	385	188	197
South Atlantic.....	3,729	1,836	1,893
North Central.....	496	256	240
South Central.....	4,194	2,090	2,104
West.....	30	17	13

TABLE XIII

NEGRO POPULATION BY SEX AND CENSUS DIVISIONS, 1930

(Population by Thousands)

DIVISION	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
New England.....	94	47	47
Middle Atlantic.....	1,053	521	532
East North Central.....	930	475	455
West North Central.....	332	168	164
South Atlantic.....	4,422	2,157	2,265
East South Central.....	2,659	1,302	1,357
West South Central.....	2,282	1,126	1,156
Mountain.....	30	16	14
Pacific.....	90	45	45

TABLE XIV

STATE MEDIANS (IN PERCENTS) OF MARITAL CONDITION OF NEGROES, UNITED STATES, 1930

SEX	SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED
Males.....	33	57.5	6.75	2.15
Females.....	20	60.0	15.95	2.90

From data too voluminous to be printed, the following facts can be ascertained. Males tend to outnumber females in those states with a smaller Negro popula-

tion. This is true for each region separately, as well as for the Nation as a whole. There is a larger percentage of married males and likewise a smaller percentage of single males in the Southeast region and in the Middle States. There is a smaller percentage of widowers in the Northeast and a remarkably high one in the Northwest. One must remember, however, that the entire Negro population of this region (Northwest) is much less than that of any single state in the South. The Middle States region has a high percentage of divorces, and the two eastern regions have lower ones. The writer has been told by southern people that in the colored community life a couple simply separates without resorting to the legal steps and that this accounts for the low number. Whatever the reason, or reasons, they can scarcely be identical in the two regions.

Illegitimate births give a further indication of Negro life. In the 30 states where the number of illegitimate Negro births is greater than 10, the ratios of illegitimate births to 1,000 Negro births in 1930 range from 68 to 227.

The important facts concerning sex status are that females tend to outnumber the males in the more populous states, while in those with a smaller number, males are ordinarily more numerous. There are many more single males and widowed females and this reflects, in a measure, the Negro economy. The males unburdened by family ties may not feel it incumbent upon themselves to establish a home quickly; they may prefer a migratory life. Moreover, the large number of illegitimate births might indicate that sex satisfactions were often gained outside of wedlock. Furthermore, the position of widows in the agricultural sections is quite secure, for they can have their own shacks and work in the fields just as well without a mate as with one.

And, of course, on the plantations women and children work in the fields along with the men. So there is no loss of security on that account.

There may be some connection between the foregoing and the wide variation in the ratios of illegitimate births, but the writer hesitates to attempt finding it. This ratio, however, tends to be highest in the Southeast, and next highest in the Northeast.

CHILDREN

Comparative birth and death rates indicate, in connection with migration and population statistics, certain facts relative to the nature of population changes. For instance, if, when death rates are higher than birth rates, the population shows normal or higher than normal rates of increase, one may be sure that extensive immigration has occurred. The converse would be true, also. The Negro birth and death rates for 1930 are significant indicators of population change, as well as of certain social tendencies.

In the Southeast, the birth rate exceeds the death rate in all the states except Tennessee and Kentucky, and is usually significantly higher. In the Northeast, the birth rate is always higher, except in Maine, though the differences are not as great as in the Southeast. The Southwest and Far West show uniformly higher death rates. The three States of Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois are all of the Middle States group with a higher birth rate. In the Northwest, the death rate is uniformly the higher and tends to be significantly so. This higher death rate in the more recently settle areas is indicative of the great migration movements of the colored people, for the population has been increasing in all of these areas in

spite of the markedly higher percentage of deaths.

SCHOOLING AND LITERACY

One of the principal differences between whites and Negroes is shown in the data on schooling and literacy. Comparison of 1900 and 1930 illiteracy rates for Negroes, however, show that changes have been occurring. The highest regional Negro illiteracy rate in 1900, that of the Southeast, dropped from 48 percent to 20 percent in 30 years; while the lowest regional rate, that of the Northwest, dropped from 11 to 4 percent.

In every state there has been a sharp and consistent trend toward increasing literacy as well as toward an increasing percentage of children in school. The Southeast does not lag far behind the northern regions now in percentage of children aged 7 to 20 in school. It may well be expected that the data from the census taken in 1940 will reveal a negligible percentage of illiterates in all regions, and a larger percentage of the children in school. Yet one knows well that the Negro schools in the southern regions are seldom up to the standards maintained by the white ones.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE AND ECONOMY

We now come to the last, and in some ways, the most interesting phase of the topic. The combination of professional life with the Negro economy is not incongruous, for generally speaking, the professional group sets the highest standard in such matters as home owning, charitable and religious giving, and tends to have the smallest families. Most people never come in contact with the Negro members of the professions, and are astonished to learn that there are a large number of well-trained and effective members of various professional and semi-

professional groups. True, there are not many of them in relation to the total Negro population, but even these few indicate something of the adaptability of the colored race to new conditions and new environments.

The professions about which complete data exist are these: clergy, teaching, law, medicine, music. Teaching is divided into two parts, higher education on the one hand and the grades on the other. Higher education will be designated as college president or professor, the grade people as teachers. Table XV gives the number of Negroes in each profession in each region.

One notes immediately the great number of teachers and ministers, and a rather high number of college presidents and professors. In contrast is the comparatively small number of lawyers and physicians, as well as of musicians. The lower paid professions have the larger number in them. This goes with the general customs of our land, except for the larger number of lawyers as compared to physicians. Though there are more ministers, college people, physicians, and teachers in the Southeast, that tends simply to reflect the larger Negro population in that region. The amazing thing is that in both law and music, the Northeast and the Middle States regions have more practitioners than the Southeast. The number of people per member of the profession is given in Table XVI.

There is not so much difference among the regions as regards the ministry though the number for the Northwest is only half that of the Southeast; but in other fields the variations are much greater. In the college field the Southwest and the Northwest have the lowest number per professional. The contrast in law clearly indicates one phase of the Negro life in the South; the uneducated Negro has little

use for a lawyer as well as even less money with which to pay for services rendered. The vast differences between the two southern regions and the rest of the Nation are the most striking factors in this table. To a lesser degree, the statements hold for physicians, who have a larger number per capita in the southern regions. This is at least partly accounted for by the fact that the plantation owners

and the colleges are at least partly supported by philanthropic foundations. Only in his support of the minister, perhaps indicative of his religious interests, is the Negro quite reasonably on a par in all regions. Therefore, it appears that three of these professions are much less supported by the Negro in the southern regions than elsewhere; that two more (and these related) draw support

TABLE XV
NUMBER OF NEGROES IN CERTAIN PROFESSIONS BY REGIONS, 1930

REGION	MINISTRY	COLLEGE PRESIDENT OR PROFESSOR	LAW	MEDICINE	MUSIC	TEACHING
Northeast.....	3,555	248	392	959	3,971	6,195
Southeast.....	14,745	1,449	209	1,502	2,411	37,402
Southwest.....	2,996	300	75	324	822	6,914
Middle States.....	3,062	123	492	882	2,572	3,405
Northwest.....	379	25	38	67	319	424
Far West.....	297	1	41	71	488	99

TABLE XVI
NUMBER OF NEGROES TO EACH MEMBER OF CERTAIN PROFESSIONS BY REGIONS, 1930

REGION	MINISTRY	COLLEGE PRESIDENT OR PROFESSOR	LAW	MEDICINE	MUSIC	TEACHING
Northeast.....	479	6,867	4,344	1,776	429	275
Southeast.....	528	5,368	37,218	5,179	3,226	208
Southwest.....	346	3,468	13,877	3,212	1,267	151
Middle States.....	386	9,603	2,401	1,338	459	347
Northwest.....	257	3,889	2,559	1,450	305	128
Far West.....	305	90,638	2,211	1,277	184	916

often summon a white doctor when a Negro needs attention.

Though the Negro is a singer more naturally than the white man, and his music has become a part of the American scene, the number of musicians is small, comparatively, in the southern regions. Once more is found suggested verification of the lack of money. The Negro can do without the lawyer, the physician, and the musician in his daily life. The schools are largely supported by taxes,

from taxation or philanthropy, and that in only one is the colored man inclined to give support wherever he may be.

The last selections of data concern the Negro economy directly. The size of families is generally an indication of standing, the larger families generally being found in so-called lower classes. The percentage of families having radios will give a further indication. In this day of apparent radio saturation, it may be well to remember that in 1930 they

were not so numerous. Home ownership is the third of our indices, perhaps a truer one than either of the others, for the Negro has been less susceptible to arguments against it. He seldom desires more than a little home of his own. This is amply borne out by both the fiction and the research literature. In Table XVII only the medians are given. For the Southwest and the Far West regions, the use of medians is open to some questions because of the small number of states therein.

As might be expected, the family is

TABLE XVII
STATE MEDIANS OF SELECTED ECONOMIC INDICES
FOR REGIONS, 1930

REGION	MEDIUM SIZE OF FAMILY	PERCENT OF FAMILIES HAVING RADIO	PERCENT OF FAMILIES OWNING HOME
Northeast.....	2.82	27	25
Southeast.....	3.20	1	22
Southwest.....	2.93	5	31
Middle States....	2.60	25	24
Northwest.....	2.12	22	35
Far West.....	2.08	33	39

largest in the two southern regions, and smallest in the Northwest and the Far West. The differences are statistically significant. One would like to find some possible relationship between family size and marital condition, but our data do not permit of such comparisons. The rank-difference correlation between radio and home ownership is .54; this at least suggests some positive relationship. Between family size and radio ownership the correlation is $-.86$, and between family size and home ownership it is $-.77$. The writer believes that these data cannot be interpreted correctly without other data: such as the marital condition of males and females by states and regions, the comparative cost of homes, the size of radios, and the other indications as to the Negro's acceptance of different

customs in various regions of the country. One does wonder, however, at 22 percent home ownership in the Southeast, even with knowledge of the general type of homes in which the colored people live.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Negro life in the United States has been considered under six principal topics. The Nation has been divided into six regions, as suggested by Odum, and the data for the Negro have been compared, region by region.

Negro population is increasing more slowly than the white population for the Nation as a whole. Although the Negro birth rate is higher, the death rate is also higher. There have been major increases among the Negro inhabitants in the broad sweep of states from New York to Illinois and Michigan, with scattered increases elsewhere, notably in California. With very few exceptions, the southern regions have noticeable decreases, many of which are statistically significant.

The northern Negro is essentially an urbanite, while the southern Negro is predominantly rural. Except in the southern regions, more than three-fourths of the colored population is urban. At the same time, it should be noted that the Negroes comprise less than five percent of the total urban population.

The data in regard to sex reveal that there are more females than males. There are marked differences in marital conditions of the sexes, the two statistically significant being the excesses of single males and of widowed females. There are marked variations among the states in a single region. Likewise, there is large variation in regard to illegitimate births in the different states, but they tend to be largest, both in number and in percent, in the Southeast.

Birth rates are higher than death rates in the Northeast and the Southeast, while in all other regions except the Middle States, the death rates are higher. There is an approximate balance among the states in this last region.

Literacy is on the increase, as is time spent in school. Even in the Southeast, where financial matters have the most influence in keeping schooling down, the trend is toward more and better educational facilities for Negro as well as white children.

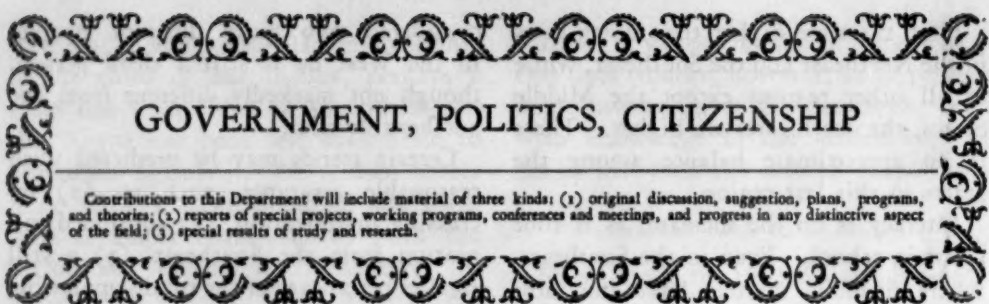
Great differences have been noted in the numbers of professional people in certain lines, as well as the variation in the number of people served by each member of the professions in the different regions. Family size is smallest in the Northwest and the Far West, and largest in the Southeast and the Southwest. In these two latter regions, the ownership of radios is at a minimum. There is the least home ownership in the Southeast, but not much less than in the Northeast and the Middle States, while it is highest in the Far West and the Northwest. Those with the highest home ownership tend to have the smallest families.

The great differences between regions in regard to the various items considered demonstrate conclusively that the Negro in the North and in the South should be

considered two quite different people. In the West he is still a third person, though not markedly different from the northern dweller.

Certain trends may be predicted with reasonable assurance, such as: (1) increasing urbanization, (2) continued migration from the Southeast, (3) a still smaller percentage of the total population, (4) a slight tendency toward more females in those regions now predominantly male, (5) continuance of the high illegitimate birth rates, (6) increasing literacy, (7) an ever larger percentage of the children in school, (8) and an increase in the numbers engaged in the professions in all regions except the Southeast, but especially in the urban centers.

This paper does not cover the effects of a decade of depression and insecurity on the Negro. The adaptability of the Negro to the new situation which has shaken not only the United States but the world, will be a matter, not only of speculation, but of great import to the Nation. As his is the only indigenous music, it may be that his will become the characteristic attitudes and philosophic concepts of the coming decades. Will his role increase or decrease? Will his influence lessen or become effective in other channels? The story to be gleaned from the 1940 Census may be a human chronicle touching the lives of millions.



GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

ADMINISTOCRACY, INC.

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OURS must be a government of men under law. To get full value from competent leadership we must seek that happy balance of men and law which insures responsible conduct on the part of executives and administrators while leaving them free to exercise their full powers on behalf of the people they represent and with due regard for the public interest. This is easier said than done.

In a campaign year the difficulties are multiplied by the general disregard for the verities which seems to afflict most candidates seeking public office. We are thus being treated to tirades on federal bureaucracy, government red tape, and national centralization of power rather than to clear-headed analyses of just what the problems of administrative organization and responsibility are. No matter how anachronistic it is, politicians will continue to extol the virtues of free private enterprise, of an individualistic competitive business system, as contrasted with the waste, dictatorial tactics, and general incompetency of government bureaucrats.

It may be well, therefore, to examine certain aspects of this problem without regard to the business of getting one's

self elected to office. Most people are aware that the paeans sung in praise of individualism must be very substantially qualified by what takes place in actual practice. Few people escape dealing with corporate business in some form or other. Yet it is probably true that, in spite of the oft-quoted figures on concentration of wealth and income, few people are conscious of the very large part played by administrative organization and processes in our economy. One of the important results of the vast amount of research induced by the depression has been to call attention to the effects of "administered prices" in a supposedly free competitive system. Price rigidity, as even the Republican Program Committee has affirmed, has been an important factor in prolonging, if not in creating, the depression. But administered prices are only one aspect of the vast quantity of administrative decisions which determine and guide activities in our economy. Government—all government—is only one important field for such decisions.

There are several major factors which organize economic activities—that is, determine patterns of conduct which enable sellers to find buyers, employers to find labor, manufacturers to find raw

materials, and so on. The National Resources Committee defines four such factors: the market; laws, rules, and customs; common goals of action; and administrative coordination.¹ Administrative coordination is considered to be the most important of the four. Quantitatively the amount of administrative organization and control is somewhat startling. If, in terms of employees, the thirty-three largest governmental units are placed beside the thirty-five largest private units, it will be found that governmental units employ approximately 1,614,000 persons and the private units 2,240,500. (The figures in table 1 are taken from the report mentioned in the footnote on this page.)

If the Federal Government is broken down into its major departments and agencies, they range in size from the Social Security Board and Panama Canal with 10,000 employees each, to the army with 185,000 and the Post Office with 285,000. The private administrative units range from the Borden Company, the Union Pacific Railroad, and others, with 30,000 employees each, to United States Steel with 193,000, General Motors with 212,000, and the A. T. & T. with 270,000.

It is, of course, safe to say that the larger the unit the more difficult and the more important are the administrative problems involved. But it does not follow that the problems of organization of units employing between one hundred and ten thousand persons are not difficult or are unimportant. According to the NRC study there were, in 1937, nearly 700,000 units employing from six to 299 persons each and 11,762 units employing between 300 and 999. "Over a third of

the manpower engaged in production in 1937 was attached to administrative units of 300 persons or more, while approximately one-eighth was employed in administrative units of ten thousand or more."

It should be observed, too, that there are large administrative units which are not primarily engaged in producing goods and services, or whose activity in this respect is derivative, but which employ substantial numbers of persons and administratively influence the conduct of large numbers of members. The degree and intensity of administrative coordination and control in these agencies varies greatly. There are the large national business associations of bankers, railroad companies, public utilities, manufacturers, steel makers, and retailers. The CIO and the AF of L claim to exercise some administrative coordination over more than 3,500,000 members each. Then there are farmers' organizations, churches, clubs, fraternities, welfare organizations, political parties, and so on. Ours is a much organized world.

The agencies referred to in the preceding paragraph may be commonly thought of as organizations which form or express opinion, bring pressure to bear on governmental units, or serve almost exclusively social or educational purposes. Yet examination will show, I think, that almost any group that achieves organized form or exercises substantial power over finances or property will exhibit some degree of administrative coordination of membership conduct as well as the usual employer coordination of conduct of those who are employees of the agency. Almost no one escapes contact with administrative organizations of some kind and few there are whose conduct is not somewhat modified by administrative action. Quantitatively, therefore, there

¹ National Resources Committee, *The Structure of the American Economy* (Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., 1939). This is an extremely valuable study.

TABLE I
LARGEST ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS RANKED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
1	Post Office..... 285,000	A. T. & T..... 270,000
2	Army..... 185,000	General Motors..... 212,000
3	New York City (and counties).... 127,000	United States Steel..... 193,000
4	Navy..... 115,000	Pennsylvania Railroad..... 109,000
5	Department of Agriculture..... 102,000	New York Central Railroad..... 95,000
6	" " War..... 94,000	Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co..... 90,000
7	" " Navy..... 69,000	Chrysler Corporation..... 65,000
8	" " Treasury..... 68,000	Swift & Co..... 60,000
9	New York State..... 51,000	I. T. & T..... 60,000
10	Department of Interior..... 45,000	Armour & Co..... 59,000
11	Pennsylvania..... 41,000	F. W. Woolworth Co..... 59,000
12	Chicago..... 40,000	General Electric Co..... 56,000
13	Veterans Administration..... 36,000	Socony Vacuum Oil..... 55,000
14	Philadelphia (and county)..... 30,000	Bethlehem Steel Co..... 51,000
15	Detroit..... 29,000	Metropolitan Life Ins. Co..... 48,500
16	Los Angeles..... 26,000	Republic Steel Co..... 47,000
17	WPA..... 26,000	Western Union..... 47,000
18	Ohio..... 23,000	International Harvester Co..... 46,000
19	Illinois..... 21,000	Sears Roebuck & Co..... 46,000
20	California..... 20,000	U. S. Rubber Co..... 46,000
21	Massachusetts..... 19,000	Consolidated Edison Co..... 45,000
22	Boston..... 18,000	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe..... 42,000
23	Department of Commerce..... 17,000	E. I. Du Pont de Nemours..... 41,000
24	Virginia..... 14,000	Prudential Life Ins. Co..... 38,600
25	Baltimore (and county)..... 14,000	Southern Pacific Railroad..... 37,000
26	Cleveland..... 14,000	Westinghouse Electric & Mfg. Co..... 37,000
27	Los Angeles County..... 14,000	Baltimore & Ohio Railroad..... 35,000
28	Home Owners Loan Corp..... 13,000	Standard Oil of Indiana..... 35,000
29	St. Louis (and county)..... 13,000	National Dairy Products Corp..... 35,000
30	Tennessee Valley Authority..... 13,000	Montgomery Ward & Co..... 31,000
31	New Jersey..... 11,000	B. F. Goodrich Co..... 30,000
32	Panama Canal..... 10,000	Borden Co..... 30,000
33	Social Security Board..... 10,000	International Shoe Co..... 30,000
34		Union Pacific Railroad..... 30,000
35		Chi. Mil. St. P. & Pac. Railroad..... 30,000

Note: For the manner in which these figures were compiled, see *The Structure of the American Economy*, Appendix 18, sec. 18., p. 383. The total Federal civil service as of June 30, 1939, was 920,310; the total, including educational employees, estimated for 1937 was, for states: 426,000; for counties 805,000; for cities and incorporated places: 1,332,000. Apparently employee figures for many large corporations were not available. Ordinarily the Federal Government may be treated as a single unit, but for the purposes here, it seems justifiable to break it down. A discussion of the coordinative effects of the communities of interest among large corporations will be found in Chapter IX of the NRC report.

is no gainsaying the importance and significance of administrative organization.

While there is a difference in motivation and emphasis between studies of private management and those of public administration, actually the

problems of administration tend to become more universal as private bodies increasingly exercise functions of control and public bodies engage in an ever expanding area of production of goods and services. Governmental organization is not peculiarly "bureaucratic" or uniquely subject to the entangling

snarcs of "red tape," and the assumption that private business is somehow inherently free from such disadvantages is unfounded.

Routine, multiplication of rules, the officious inefficiency of bureaucrats, are concomitants of large-scale organization wherever found, and there is substantial reason to believe that the profit motive by itself is insufficient to hold them in check—particularly where the center of control of the organization is not directly dependent on or interested in dividends. It is advantageous, therefore, to approach the problem as composed of certain fundamentals underlying all administrative organization and common to both industry and government. In doing so, there is no intention to imply that there are not valid differences between public and private administrative organizations and the problems involved in their control and operation.

These basic general problems fall into two major categories. The first is concerned with social objectives and the *type* of means used to attain such objectives with particular emphasis on the effect of the use of given means on the ends desired. Thus we desire a high standard of living and a high degree of individual freedom in making our economic, political, and religious choices. Historically, our people accustomed themselves to the notion that an atomistic, freely competitive economy was the means to these ends, in fact, that it constituted in part, at least, the end itself.

The standard of living goal, however, is inextricably intertwined with technological advance. It became apparent that the ratio of production over energy input could be maximized by an industrial system constructed on an extensive and minute division of labor. Such division of labor is inconceivable without organization, management, disciplined conduct.

Thus the dilemma: to what degree shall we sacrifice freedom of individual action to industrial regimentation for the sake of a higher standard of living? Or, if, as seems apparent, the *physis* of our economy is such that industrial regimentation comes willy-nilly, driven by forces beyond our control, are there alternative concepts and realities of freedom of personal action which can be achieved through an intelligent use of necessary organization? I think there are, but they need not be argued at this point. It may be said, however, that the regimentation of individuals into organized disciplined modes of conduct limiting individual freedom of action was first accomplished in our era by private business—it is by no means the invention of modern government. The development of governmental administrative organization is the lagging but necessary political adaptation to the forces which have operated in the field of private industry.

The second major category of problems underlying administrative organization has to do with the control, organization, staffing, and administration of the functions of such agencies. Control has two aspects: (1) the power of the central authority in the administrative hierarchy to determine the policies of the organization and to execute such policies by management devices; (2) the power of interested factors external to the administrative hierarchy to enforce upon the central authority responsibility for the management of the organization in the interest of certain objectives. The constitution of the central authority may be cooptive (as in the case of some boards of directors or trustees), elective (as in the case of public legislatures, executives, administrators, and the boards of directors and heads of some private bodies), appointive (as in the case of

most administrators, general managers, subexecutives, and many chief executives). Two central problems are here involved: How may the central authority of the administrative organization be made responsive (1) to the wishes of elements directly interested in its operations (stockholders, bondholders, employees, consumers, and, in government, to the legislature as representative of the public, or to the appointing body as representative of the legislature), and (2) to the public in terms of general social responsibility and contribution to the public welfare?

It may be safely affirmed that this problem in the particular and general responsibility of the central authority in the administrative hierarchy has not been solved in either private or public organization. Contrary to much popular propaganda, it is much farther from solution in private than in public agencies. One needs only to read the hearings of Senator Wheeler's committee investigating railroads, or N. R. Danielian's *A. T. T.*, or Berle and Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, or the NRC report mentioned above, to get a conception of the magnitude of the problem in the field of private business. In the Berle and Means study it was found that in 65 percent of the 200 largest nonfinancial corporations representing 80 percent of their combined assets, stockholders, because of wide dispersion or legal devices, were shorn of power to influence policy in any major degree. The A. T. & T., an apparently relatively well-managed private leviathan, is an excellent illustration of *administracy* in almost its purest form. It is only one of many. Candidates for political office who prate of government dictatorship while demanding less government regulation of an impliedly in-

dividualistic industry, are grossly falsifying the realities.

This question of responsibility is also a vital one in labor union organization where "bossism" has been all too common; in large urban political machines; in religious organizations where extensive administrative hierarchies augment symbols, rituals, accoutrements, and social ignorance with claims on divine authority and omniscience; in our educational systems from top to bottom where educationally illiterate boards and trustees all too frequently stifle pedagogy and betray the interests of both parents and children. It is hard to exaggerate the importance of devising effective means for *competent* and *responsible* control of large administrative units, private or public.

The first mentioned aspect of control, that of the power of the central authority in the administrative hierarchy to determine and execute policy, is intimately tied up with the phase just discussed. Its most prominent features are (1) the delegation and definition of powers, and (2) the selection of the personnel to exercise the powers. The essential problem in the delegation of powers is to grant the administrative authority sufficient power to facilitate the full expression of the abilities of the personnel and to enable the effective achievement of the objects for which the agency exists, while at the same time providing the means of insuring the responsibility discussed above. Delegation of powers goes from stockholders and state to the board of directors and the corporation, from the board of directors to the management, and from the management down the line of the administrative hierarchy. In government it is from people to legislature, from legislature to executive, administrator, board, commission, or corporation, and thence down the line of

the administrative hierarchy. The delegation and definition is accomplished by constitution, statute, charter, bylaws, executive and administrative orders, rules and regulations. The problem is to so construct this legal framework that responsibility is preserved while freedom of effective action is granted.

The selection of personnel to exercise control is, of course, crucial. Such individuals must, on the one hand, understand what the element of responsibility requires of them, and on the other be competent to direct or manage the organization. Election and power of removal are generally considered to be the primary methods of enforcing responsibility. Bondholders have no such power until too late; stockholders, by and large, find their powers in this respect extraordinarily anemic. Voters are dependent on the degree to which democratic control of election machinery is present and, unfortunately, electoral processes are frequently subject to the manipulation of hard boiled political machines. Electoral processes in unions, religious organizations, and other bodies, are also frequently deficient in facilitating membership control. Where such selection of personnel is cooptive, or virtually so, with inadequate governmental controls, as in the case of most large corporations, the central administrative authority is technically irresponsible.

It is commonly agreed by students of the subject that administrative competence is best obtained by appointment based on merit and fitness. In this case, as in that of responsibility, virtual cooption is small guarantee of the selection of able directors or managers. Nor is the profit motive necessarily a sufficient incentive where gains from manipulation of salaries and bonuses far exceed the officialdom's personal interest in divi-

dends. In the field of government, the election of chief executives has been notoriously deficient in producing competent managers. In the municipal area some progress has been made through the use of the city-manager plan. In government generally, pushing the civil service merit system toward top administrators has made some progress while public demand for meritorious appointments has had a beneficial effect upon chief executives in the exercise of their appointing functions. In any case, selection of control personnel for competence, while farther along perhaps than selecting it for responsibility, is by no means a problem satisfactorily solved in either public or private organizations, nor in labor, religious, and social organizations any more than in those in business and industry.

The area of control just discussed is the most dramatic and, no doubt, the most important, for it is a dominant factor in seeking solutions to other problems of administrative organization. But it by no means exhausts the subject. These subordinate problems are large in number and only suggestive hints as to their character can be given here.

In the matter of organization two characteristics of any administrative organization play a fundamental part: (1) its size in terms of number of persons employed and geographic area covered, and (2) the number and diversity of functions it performs. The larger the administrative unit, the more diverse its functions, and the wider the distribution of its activities, the more complex and difficult do its problems of organization and administration become. Such questions arise as: (1) Into how many sub-administrative units should the organization be divided? (2) What function or combination of functions should be al-

lotted to each? (3) What is the span of control of any given administrative official—that is, how many subordinates performing what functions can he effectively supervise? (4) What relations should exist between overhead functions of staffing, fiscal control, accounting, and the like, and the operating divisions? (5) How much authority or power to make decisions should be delegated down the line? (6) If the operations cover a large geographic area, what degree of decentralization of operations, control, and overhead functions is desirable—how close and detailed ought central office supervision to be? (7) Once diversified functionally and decentralized geographically, how is coordination of these many units into an effective going concern for achieving the general objectives to be accomplished? It is important to observe that almost all these questions are of a highly technical character and are not the sort of problems which a body of amateurs, like the legislature for example, ought to try to solve. In fact, it is frequently true that even the specialized operating administrator is competent only to assist in solution—not to make final determinations himself.

The staffing of the organization or the construction and management of its personnel system is replete with difficult problems. It involves the selection of employees competent for the work assigned to them, the determination of their duties, the classification of their positions so that appropriate wage and salary scales can be established, the setting of such pay scales, the devising of systems of promotion, the provision for retirement and pensions, the arrangement of compensation for accidents, the setting up of standards for removal, the establishment of techniques for handling employer-employee or supervisor-subordinate rela-

tions, and many other related problems. A mere listing of these questions indicates how important to the employees are the policies which the central administrative authority elects to execute, and also how important such policies are to the economy at large. For low wages, poor working conditions, no pensions, no insurance, no suitable machinery for settling industrial disputes, mean ultimately heavy costs to be borne by society at large in the form of police and prison expenses, hospital and health costs, relief, care of dependent young and old persons, and so on. The standards developed for and the methods by which these subordinate problems are handled in both private and public agencies are of vital importance to the economy and to our society. They underscore the major question of control first examined.

After control, organization, and staffing, comes operation, or the administration of the organization in the performance of its designated functions. Obviously, controlling, organizing, staffing, and administering are in varying degrees, continuing functions not definitely separated in time. Administration, however, consists in operating the whole to produce the goods or services and gain the profit or social benefit for which the organization exists. The central administrative authority, in general, deals not only with employees but with sellers on the one side and buyers on the other, or, in government, with sellers, buyers, patrons, taxpayers, wards, etc. Hence decisions made by the central administrative authority as to prices to be paid, prices to be charged, quantity and quality of goods or services to be produced, methods of dealing with patrons, competitors, wards, and many other determinations, directly affect persons not members of the organization. Thus the decisions of managers of big corporations

to cut production, lay off employees, reduce wages, and maintain prices, may cumulate into economic catastrophe for the economy. So also, the decision of the central administrative authority of a religious hierarchy requiring a certain line of conduct of its adherents may have substantial economic and vast social and political consequences. Decisions of administrative authorities in governmental agencies are, of course, no less important.

The basic check on the conduct of the administrators of an organization lies in the character of the control element. Beyond that, certain other techniques of varying degrees of efficacy are applied: collective bargaining, mediation, arbitration; commercial arbitration, suits on contract, actions in equity; civil actions under the antitrust laws; government regulation of practices, rates, financial operations; revolts and secessions; boycotts; defeating candidates at the polls; initiative, referendum, and recall; nullifying laws or rulings; complaints to legislative bodies and legislative investigations; judicial review and various

forms of administrative review; and so on. The efficacy of any particular technique must be determined by examining its application in concrete situations.

In summary, without in any way intending to minimize the importance of the problems of organization and administration of public agencies, this article has been designed to show that such problems are by no means peculiar to government; that quantitatively, nongovernmental far exceed governmental administrative units; that the development of large governmental administrative agencies is not a case of political aggression but rather a laggard adaptation to fundamental necessities generated by the same forces which caused large-scale organization in industry; and that certain basic problems of great social significance underlie administrative organization, public or private, lay or religious, economic or social. Less heat, more light; less smoke, more fresh air; less propaganda, more clear-headed analysis; are appropriate to the discussion of these problems.

THE NATURE OF NATIONALISM*

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THERE is no doubt that nationalism is by far the strongest social force of our time. Both this war, and the last great war, besides quite a number of other wars, revolutions and crises all over the world, are irrefutable proofs. Yet for a long time sociologists gave comparatively little attention to the tremendous problems involved.

* A critique of the Report on Nationalism by a Study Group of The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1939.

They hardly realised that there were any problems at all. Before the last great war most sociologists seem to have regarded nationalism as a remnant of the past, which would soon lose every importance through the progress of democracy, the formation of a world economy, and the development of international law. This attitude proved ever more untenable, and many writers now treated special problems of nationality, mostly either from an historical or a juridical or a

political point of view. The underlying questions of the nature of national sentiment, however, its psychological structure, and its sociological interrelations remained rather neglected. In Germany, Friedrich Meinecke did much to elucidate the development of ideas on nationality, and many of his pupils continued his line of research. In France, Ernest Seillière published important books on the philosophy of imperialism, by which he understood the ideology centred on power and prestige. In America, Carlton Hayes devoted extensive research to the problems of nationality, and encouraged his pupils to make studies in this field. I may also mention the well known books by Ernest Barker, Roberto Michels, the bibliography by Koppel Pinson and my own numerous publications on the subject. The aim of my own research is to work out a theory of nationality, founded on a broad historical, psychological, and sociological basis. Lastly, we have to welcome the appearance of a book under the title *Nationalism* which is a report of a study group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The group consisted of a number of prominent scholars; its chairman was Professor E. H. Carr, and its secretary Mr. M. G. Balfour.

National problems, therefore, have received considerable scientific attention in recent years. Yet many fundamental questions are still obscure. Professor C. Hayes who has devoted more research to these problems than any other scholar still says at the end of his book, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*, "What has given great vogue to nationalism in modern times? We really do not know."

It is no surprise, therefore, that the work of the scholars has had very little influence on the general public and the course of politics hitherto. The fact

that the democracies have for so long shown themselves almost paralysed and helpless in the face of the assault of nationalism was partly due to a lack of understanding of the nature of nationalism and the factors conditioning it. The triumph of extreme nationalism is largely due to the illusions of almost all parties in regard to the fundamental character of nationalism. The nationalists themselves, of course, did not wish their creed to be analysed in a critical spirit; they preferred to let it remain clouded in mystical obscurity. Conservatives were in many countries apt to welcome extreme nationalism as an ally against democracy or socialism, and they were convinced that they would always be able to control it. Liberals and democrats traditionally hailed every national movement as a striving for freedom and they believed that a people that had thrown off a "foreign yoke" would be peaceable, liberal, and generous. When the existence of an intolerant and aggressive nationalism could not be ignored any longer, this was ascribed either to the ambitions of kings and aristocrats, or to economic reasons. The remedy, therefore, was seen either in unlimited democracy, or in some economic panacea as "laissez faire" in the old liberal times, and state intervention in our more democratic epoch. Socialists, naturally, regarded nationalism as a disguise for capitalist interests and believed that only a vigorous class war was the right remedy. Pacifists were used to overestimate the rational and friendly elements in the human character, and to assume that wars would be definitely eliminated if the representatives of all nations would be assembled in a League and pass solemn declarations.

This attitude of parties towards nationalism was a main factor in paving the

way for the triumph of extreme nationalism. Moreover, it also frequently had a hampering and misleading influence on scientific research. Thought is largely conditioned by historical and social factors which sharpen the eye for certain problems and blindfold it for others. Besides, scientific views not in accordance with the prevailing ideology of a nation have little chance of winning the ear of wider circles.

In England the aggressive type of nationalism, the craving for power and prestige, in our time has lost almost any influence on the mind of the people. The ideal of a peaceful world order, the hope of settling all differences by negotiations and compromises and disbelief in methods of violence have pervaded the mentality of all classes. Some sections, indeed, found a substitute for that sort of nationalism in a certain latent distrust of and disregard for all foreigners, and in isolationism which also played into the hands of the aggressors. On the whole, however, for a long time it was not only the British Government which closed eyes and ears to the most evident signs of aggressive intentions on the part of certain other nations. It was the dominating ideology of the whole nation which was to a large extent responsible for the attitude of the government. Even when the dictators openly proclaimed aims of aggrandizement and world domination, they were not taken seriously, or it was assumed that either the desire of their peoples for peace, or economic necessities would stop them. It was completely ignored how deeply rooted the lust of power was in wide circles of those peoples, how firmly the rest were bound to their leaders by traditions and institutions, and how little value was attached to economic, cultural, or moral considerations in their national ideology.

The afore-mentioned report on nationalism by a study group of the Institute for International Affairs, therefore, meets an urgent need, and it must be considered a most important contribution to the subject. It contains a wealth of materials and well-balanced thought, and some of the chapters are admirable. It is not my aim, however, to review the whole book but rather to point out a few fundamental questions in which I feel unable to agree with the authors. It seems to me that even this highly meritorious, scholarly, and most objective work still shows traces of a national ideology which is not favourable to a full understanding of nationalism, and which has contributed to bringing about the present state of things.

In an introductory note it is stated:

Nationalism has been used in the report to denote a consciousness of the distinctive character of different nations, including the one of which the individual is a member, and a desire to increase the strength, liberty, and prosperity of nations. Its effect is not necessarily taken as being confined to the individual's own nation, although admittedly this is very often the case, nor is the nationalist necessarily conceived as making the interest of his own nation supremely important. In short, the term is used in such a sense that Mazzini, Gladstone, and Woodrow Wilson can be described as exponents of nationalism as well as Herr Hitler.

The authors, therefore, use the term "nationalism" as equivalent to "national consciousness," and even this in a very broad sense, including a cosmopolitanism that is not opposed to the existence of different nations. It is, of course, absolutely right that the field to be treated is pegged out so widely. But it is doubtful whether this whole field should be marked by the term "nationalism," and whether this word should not rather be reserved for a smaller field within the larger one, particularly for political movements characterized by a one-sided, intolerant, and

often fanatical accentuation of one's own nationality.

True, the usage of calling every interest in nationality "nationalism" is very widespread, especially in England. Yet, it is a very misleading usage which should be avoided for the sake of scientific precision. It is even incorrect from a linguistic point of view. The words ending in "ism" commonly denote a collective striving or a school of thought, characterized by a very strong, and usually one-sided, accentuation of a principle. Communal enterprises or welfare services are not the same as communism. Militarism means much more than a mere interest in military matters, and pacifism more than peaceableness. Likewise there is a difference between rationality and rationalism, formality and formalism, subjectivity and subjectivism, individuality and individualism, liberality and liberalism, sociality and socialism. Accordingly nationalism would denote a mentality stressing nationality in a one-sided, exclusive way. This is confirmed by observation of movements, professing nationalism, though they often begin with moderate demands and only later on become extreme.

Using the term "nationalism" in such a wide sense that both Gladstone and Hitler are included seems to encourage the belief that the difference between the mentality of these two men is only one of degree, and that Hitler had about the same ideals as Gladstone, though he pursued them in a more radical way. Such an assumption would obviously be absurd. Would anybody use the term "socialism" in such a wide sense to include Locke, Smith, and Montesquieu as well as Marx, Lenin, and Hitler? There are many ideas in the thought of Locke, Smith, and Montesquieu which agree with certain tenets of socialism. Yet it would be

most misleading if they were called socialists.

The terminology proposed by Chatham House, moreover, implies grave political dangers. The vagueness about the meaning of nationalism is one of the greatest assets of nationalist propaganda. It helps the radical nationalists to win the support of people who have no interest in power and prestige, and who are quite opposed to wars and conquests by representing to them their aims in a harmless light. Both the theoretical and practical reasons, therefore, suggest that a clear distinction be made between national consciousness and nationalism. The Report very kindly acknowledges my own contributions to the study of nationalism. One of my chief points, however, is to show the necessity for that distinction. National consciousness in my view is a striving for national personality, though it is obvious that a group cannot possess personality in exactly the same sense as an individual. However, there is an analogy between the two concepts, and, moreover, even objects existing only in imagination play a powerful role as political ideals. That tendency is characterized by strivings for unity, liberty, peculiarity (originality), and prestige. Nationalism seems to me a special form of national consciousness, characterized by the predominance of the striving for power and domination, and the subordination of all other values to these aims. Though the Report does not deny the existence of such striving, the general impression is that its importance is not sufficiently stressed, particularly in the interpretation of historical events. On the whole the craving for prestige, power, and domination is understated, its manifestations are often ascribed to economic factors, or to a mere longing for unity, and the fundamental differences of ideol-

ogy between nations (e.g. between English and German national ideologies) are too much softened down.

One of the basic ideas of the Report is that aggressive nationalism has developed in Germany and other states, mainly because national unity has been attained late, and there was less spontaneous internal cohesion, than in England and France where nationhood had been reached much earlier. Dictatorship then appears as a sort of substitute for that natural development of national unity in the Western states (p. 196). The Report states (p. 208): "The aim of the totalitarian State is to establish national unity and to abolish the class war . . . by the intervention of the State . . ."—and (on p. 296) "It is undoubtedly true that one of the chief causes which have induced men to tolerate the intolerance of the more extreme type of nationalism has been the belief that it was likely to bring peace and prosperity." The evolution of extreme nationalism in certain nations is ascribed to the historical lack of internal integration, to the sense of humiliation, created by the peace treaties, and to the economic weakness of those nations which rendered them unable to stand the intensification of competition, especially after the war (p. 189). As examples of "nationalist appeals" are given—without discrimination—the speeches of Hitler and Mussolini, the periodical broadcasts of the King to the British Empire, Mr. Neville Chamberlain's broadcast during the crisis of September 1938, and President Roosevelt's fireside chats (p. 203). It is assumed that men in the totalitarian states have already begun to react against everything which intensifies war or makes its occurrence more probable, because they fear the economic and cultural devastations, and that this tendency is likely to grow in the future (p. 336).

The Report also admits the possibility that the National Socialist and Fascist states will grant a greater measure of internal liberty, once they have succeeded in integrating their peoples sufficiently (p. 196). German and Italian nationalism is more vocal than British and French, but, if the strength of nationalism be judged by the capacity of a nation for united and vigorous action in moments of emergency, British and French nationalism may prove stronger (p. 197). It is hardly necessary to say how doubtful all these statements appear in the light of recent events.

The Report also investigates whether nationalism has changed its character in the course of time from a liberal and peaceful to an aggressive and autocratic mood. It is admitted that the popularization of the State, the increase in its power and activities, and the intensification of international rivalries have tended to increase nationalism. Yet the Report comes to the conclusion that "Nationalism in the nineteenth century was no less militant than the extreme forms of Nationalism current to-day, and that it owes its better repute mainly to the fact that the nineteenth century world was a less crowded place, and that clashes could be adjusted peacefully at the expense of weaker races" (p. 187). In the concluding chapter we are warned to treat the popular distinction between good and bad nationalism, or between a pacific and an aggressive one, with great caution. Nationalism as a group feeling invoked to justify coercion is always potentially bad or aggressive. The character of nationalism is determined by internal or external circumstances of the nation concerned. A nation content with things as they are, or too weak to alter them, is pacific, and a dissatisfied and strong nation is aggressive. It is feared that the ruth-

less and aggressive spirit of the totalitarian states may infect also the democracies when their favourable internal and external circumstances deteriorate, though this will perhaps be prevented by the strength of traditions. The Report also discusses certain factors resisting nationalism and possibilities which may weaken it in the future, but abstains from recommending any remedies. Its general conclusion is "that to condemn Nationalism as the cause of our present discontent is just as absurd as to exalt the nation into the permanent unity of human society, possessing absolute and eternal values of its own" (p. 340). For our time, at least, we must take the nation as a fact, and make the best of it.

The general views of the Report contain undeniable truths and are based on careful study of all relevant facts. According to a laudable English tradition national self-criticism is sometimes carried a little too far, and criticism of other nations is sometimes rather understated. The ambiguity of the term "nationalism" constantly tends to confuse issues. In particular, in our view, nationalism in its narrower sense does not aim as much for unity, peace, and prosperity, as the Report thinks, as for prestige, power, and domination, both at home and abroad. This spirit embodied in traditions and institutions, may have been created by one or more great warriors and their followers. But it is no good blinking at the fact that this spirit, once aroused, appeals mightily to the emotions of great masses. The rise of Prussian and German militarism and nationalism was initiated and carried on by a few leaders, originally without assent or even in opposition to the majority of the people. The triumphs of German arms, however, quickly changed the national spirit. In the time before the great war German nationalism

was by far more extravagant outside the ruling circles than inside them. The Government of the Empire was being pushed more towards war by the Pan-Germans, than it set the pace. The view that the great war was largely due to economic causes is not in accordance with the facts, and the idea that German nationalism became so radical because Germany could not face economic competition is certainly quite wrong. A comparison of Bismarck's and Hitler's mentality surely shows a considerable aggravation of aggressive nationalism.

It is, of course, true that a strong and dissatisfied state may incline towards aggressiveness, but this will obviously depend on the degree of its dissatisfaction, and there may be counteracting motives, too, among which moral factors are not quite negligible. All these motives, however, are conditioned by the national spirit which is the product of its whole history. The Report ascribes the type of nationalism in a specific nation to its "environment." It would be better to lay stress on its history and its embodiment in traditions and institutions. Mere favourable or unfavourable circumstances do not create aggressiveness or peaceableness in a nation not predisposed to it by its historical development. England, e.g., is satisfied with the loose nature of the so-called British Empire. She does not object to Ireland's neutrality in the present war, though the power of England would perhaps be strong enough to coerce Ireland. Germany would certainly not tolerate such a state of things. The Report ascribes the increase of aggressive nationalism to the popularization of the State, and to the intensification or international rivalries. Yet the popularization of the State has also taken place in England, and here an increase of national

aggressiveness could certainly not be observed. As to the intensification of international rivalries, this was more a consequence of nationalism than its cause.

There are many other points, too, in which I cannot quite agree with the Report, e.g., the view that old Austria-Hungary was only a mechanical conglomeration. In fact, the Empire was

in the course of transformation to a Commonwealth of Nations, and Austria at least was far advanced on the road to national autonomy and equality. If this great experiment failed, this was due to the outbreak of war and to the fact that the nationalists of all nations were striving not so much for equality and autonomy as for domination.

SAUL N. MINKOFF MEMORIAL CONTEST

The Economics Department of the Washington Square College of Arts and Science of New York University announces the details of the Saul N. Minkoff Memorial Contest. This contest is open to senior students in Economics. An award of \$25.00 and a bronze plaque will be presented to the student presenting the best essay on one of the subjects (listed below) related to the field of the Economics of Health Security.

The essays are to be approximately 6,000 words in length, and should be the product of original research and readings. With the growing interest in teaching and research in this field in liberal arts colleges throughout the country (see *Public Health Reports*, v. 55, no. 45, Nov. 8, 1940*), it is hoped that further work will be stimulated by the award. The competition is made possible through a grant from the family of the late Saul N. Minkoff, an alumnus of the College and former Research Secretary of the New York State Health Commission for 1938-1939. The award will be granted annually.

The awards committee comprises members of the Department of Economics and Joseph Hirsh, health education specialist for the U. S. Office of Education.

Following is the list of subjects suggested for this year's competition: Analysis of Financial Structure of Associated Hospital Service of New York; Cooperative Medicine in New York City; Health Insurance Programs of New York City Trade Unions (excluding Union Health Center); Extent and Character of Health Insurance of Friendly Societies in Harlem; Health Insurance of Friendly Societies, i.e. Workmen's Circle, International Worker's Order; Analysis of Economic Implications of Proposed Compulsory Health Insurance Plan for New York State; Analysis of Typical Health Insurance Policies of Commercial Insurance Companies; Health Insurance Plans Sponsored by Business Corporations; Analysis of Activities of American Medical Association in Field of Health Insurance; Economic Analysis of Senator Capper's Proposed Health Bill; Analysis of Health Insurance Aspects of Mutual Benefit Associations.

* Teaching of Social Medicine in Liberal Arts Colleges and Universities.

SOCIAL-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE SEASONAL WORKER AND UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION BENEFITS

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THE unemployment compensation laws in 28 states contain special provisions regarding benefits for seasonal workers, and 4 other state legislatures have directed the administrative agencies to make studies of seasonal work and report. This is an important matter because there are few industries which do not show some seasonal variations in production and, hence, in the number of persons employed. But while this is a fact, it is by no means easy to distinguish changes in employment due to recurring seasonal conditions from those brought about by what might be identified in statistical analysis as secular, cyclical or residual factors in the economic system. Furthermore, the policy reflected in the legal provisions regarding so-called seasonal workers and seasonal industries seems to run counter to the assumptions in many laws that unemployment compensation should operate to stabilize employment and to maintain the purchasing power of unemployed workers. Those states which have the employer's reserve type of unemployment compensation law and those which provide for a pooled fund but with experience rating allowed as a basis for the reduction of contributions have asserted that stabilization of

employment is equally important with the payment of benefits to the unemployed. If special provisions are made for seasonal workers in such a way as to reduce their rights to benefits relative to other workers, some part of the basic unemployment compensation policy in the United States is being neglected.

It is generally assumed that unemployment compensation benefits help to stabilize the standard of living of insured workers. That is its main social reason for existence. If laws are so drawn that vast numbers of workers are disqualified on the grounds that they were employed in seasonal industries, then it may be questioned whether unemployment compensation has the value which has been attributed to it by organized labor, many governments, and large numbers of students of the social sciences. It is the aim of this paper to analyze present legal provisions regarding seasonal workers and to point out the relation of unemployment compensation theory to the problem of seasonal benefits.

SEASONAL PROVISIONS IN STATE LAWS

There are two common ways of defining seasonal industry and seasonal worker in the state laws. First may be mentioned

those laws which define seasonality in terms of a group or class of employers who find it impracticable or impossible to "operate for a period or periods of one year in length" without laying off a specified percentage of workers. The second type of law defines a seasonal industry as one which operates less than a specified number of weeks.

For the purpose of illustrating the first type of law we may use the Arkansas statute. This law provides that, "Whenever the commissioner finds that on account of seasonal conditions, it is highly impracticable or impossible for a group or class of employers to operate for a period or periods of one year in length and that such employers customarily operate only during a regular recurring period or periods of less than one year in length, then the rights to benefits shall apply only to the longest seasonal period or periods which are customary in such operations, as determined by the commissioner."¹

To this broad provision of the act are added a qualifying clause and another permissive clause. The commissioner is directed to modify the rights to benefits of seasonal workers in such a way that the total benefits paid to them shall be a "reasonable proportion to the total contributions of such employer." The commissioner may designate any industry as seasonal which customarily lays off a third or more of its employees for six months or more in a recurring period of each year. Several other states, among them Alabama and Mississippi, have similar provisions regarding seasonal workers.

This law insofar as it affects seasonal workers could mean much or little. If the commissioner is inclined to restrict

the benefit rights of the seasonal worker, he can eliminate the rights of many workers to benefits. A man might work almost straight time for ten or eleven months in two or three different seasonal industries and, if then unemployed, have no rights whatever to benefits, because benefits would be payable only when he is unemployed during the operating season of one of the industries in which he had worked. If the commissioner is disinclined to enforce this provision of the law, he can simply refrain from making a finding that an industry is seasonal. It is not clear whether or not an industry could institute mandamus proceedings to require the commissioner to make a finding, but if that is possible, it is highly probable that employers who operate so-called seasonal industries would demand the enforcement of this part of the law.

The second type of law defines an industry as seasonal when it operates for a customary period of less than a specified number of weeks each year. The Massachusetts law will be used to illustrate this type. A part of section 21 reads as follows:

Whenever in any industry, employment or occupation, or branch thereof, because of its seasonal nature, it is customary to operate only during a regularly recurring period or periods of less than forty weeks in length, and whenever there are individuals employed in such industry, employment or occupation who are not ordinarily employed during the year in any other work, the commission may, for the purpose of this chapter, ascertain, and determine, and re-determine, after investigation, such seasonal period or periods for each such seasonal industry, employment or occupation, or branch thereof. When the commission has determined such seasonal period or periods, it shall also fix the right to benefits and conditions required for the payment of benefits to such individuals, and shall so modify the requirements for eligibility to benefits and the conditions required for payment thereof that such individuals will receive benefits in reasonable proportion to the length of time during

¹ State of Arkansas, *Act. No. 155, Laws of 1937*, sec. 4 (g).

which they have been employed in such industry, employment or occupation.²

A season of 39 weeks, as defined under the Massachusetts law, is three-fourths of a year. The commission is directed to so modify benefit conditions that benefits received will bear a reasonable relation to the length of the time worked. Presumably the benefit conditions regarding ordinary unemployment are reasonably related to the time worked. If they are, then this provision concerning seasonal industry and seasonal employment must mean something different. The aim of the law seems to be to curtail either the amount or duration of benefits or both. The period during which benefits may be paid in case of unemployment is not specifically limited to the active season of the industry concerned, but by regulation the commission may have power to set such a limitation. Some state laws are explicit and mandatory on this point.

The concept of a recurring period is difficult to apply. In the first place, the only practicable season would be one determined by the computation of a seasonal index number based upon several years' operation in a particular industry. The result would represent average conditions, but in certain years the period of maximum activity would be longer or shorter than the average conditions. If benefit payments were restricted to the defined season, the workers laid off in a shorter than average season would be entitled to benefits for the remainder of the season. But if the employer found it profitable to operate for several weeks longer than the defined season, would his employees by that fact cease to be seasonal workers and, therefore, entitled to benefits according to the regular statutory provisions? If this should be the

legal interpretation, then the employer might find it more profitable to stop with the end of his defined season in order to protect his experience rating.

A second confusion regarding seasonality arises from the fact that there are few industries which operate at the same level throughout the year. For example, the crude petroleum industry in such states as California and Texas, at least, might be presumed to have year-round employment at approximately the same level. In 1938, employment in this industry in California was 24,215 in January, but from that high point, it declined slowly until it was 21,994 in October, after which it began to rise. That was a reduction in employment of nearly ten percent. Employment in the same industry in Texas declined from 62,463 in March, 1938, to 35,321 in September—the latter may represent an extraordinary condition, because the next lowest figure is 55,137 in December.³ California and Texas have different high and low points in this industry. Ohio gives the commission power to determine the season for any industry, employment or class of employment. The lowest employment in Ohio in 1938 in the automobile industry was 20,524 in March, and the highest point was reached in November when 30,190 were employed, an increase of approximately fifty percent, though it should be noted that the monthly changes up to this month were highly irregular.⁴ The seasonal changes in the automobile industry are variable, because they depend in considerable degree upon the date that work on new models begins. Unquestionably this industry, not only in Ohio, but in Indiana, Michigan, New York, and

³ *Employment and Pay Rolls in State Unemployment Compensation Systems 1938*, Social Security Board, April, 1940, Table 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Table 30.

² *Laws of 1937*, as amended.

other states, shows marked fluctuations in employment within the calendar year. Will the unemployment compensation agency have to redefine the season each year?

Another question which arises to complicate the administration of special provisions for seasonal industries is the usual phrase in the laws which refers to seasonal workers as those who are not ordinarily employed during the remainder of the year in any other occupation. Hence, the agency has not only to define the season of the industry but it has to determine whether or not individual workers are ordinarily employed in other occupations. What would "ordinarily not employed" mean? No work at all? Occasional work at whatever could be found during the off-season? Must the definition be quantitative? Under the law it probably would have to be quantitative to be enforceable, and that would require an arbitrary classification of employment in compensable and noncompensable groups. Such decisions would require highly competent employees to assemble the facts, and then would require a sort of quasi-judicial action to classify a given employment. The application of seasonal benefit provisions to either industry or employment will be a continuous administrative problem, because of the frequent changes which occur in industry and employment. It might be difficult to justify the costs of this part of the administration.

OFFICIAL INTERPRETATION

A few disputed cases involving the question of seasonality have been appealed to the administrative tribunals, and the Social Security Board has reported one case which went to the courts in Wisconsin. Examination of the reasoning and decisions in these early cases on which

appeals have been taken should indicate the probable trend in official interpretation and the administrative problems involved.

Four cases have been reported from Oregon in the *Benefit Series*, published by the Social Security Board. All of these cases dealt with the lumber industry. An attempt has been made in Oregon to fix a season for each industrial unit. The first case⁵ arose in an industry whose season had been defined as the eleventh to the forty-fourth weeks inclusive of the calendar year; in 1936 it was March 14 to October 31. The claimant had worked for the company during the season but had been retained in employment until November 21, three weeks after the defined season ended. The appeal body declared, "A claimant who is employed beyond the closing date of employer's determined season is a non-seasonal employee and hence entitled to benefits for off-season unemployment." If the worker had been discharged October 31, he would not have been entitled to benefits. Another case⁶ concerned an industry whose season was from the seventh week to the forty-fourth week inclusive. The employee was retained until November 12, 1937, which was beyond the determined season. The appeal tribunal stated that he was engaged in nonseasonal employment for a part of his base period and, therefore, was entitled to benefits in the off-season. The next case was slightly different: "A claimant who is employed outside the employer's determined season doing work which is not customarily performed during the season but which is incidental and necessary to

⁵ *Benefit Series*, Information Service, Social Security Board, 284—Oreg.—A. The case numbers used in this article are those given the cases by the Social Security Board.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 285—Oreg.—A.

the proper care and conduct of employer's business, is a nonseasonal worker, hence entitled to benefits for off-season unemployment."⁷ This man's ordinary job was that of powderman for a lumber company, but in the off-season the employer had retained him to shovel snow off the roofs of the buildings. If the claimants in these three cases had been employed only during the determined season and had worked during that period without interruption, none of them would have been entitled to benefits. That has been established in another case in which the decision denied the right of the claimant to benefits on the ground that he had been employed only during the determined season.⁸ By careful selection of employees for off-season employment, all of these employers could have avoided having benefits charged against their experience rating accounts. There is probably little doubt that after the loss of these cases, the employers became more circumspect.

The foregoing cases were decided on the basis of employment in a particular employing unit, and the decision of the employer to retain a given employee beyond the determined season was the important fact. But a Missouri case was decided on the basis of the worker's ordinary occupation, that of truck driver.⁹ The employer engaged in milk, ice cream, and beer business. Hence, by shifting his truck drivers from one branch of his business to another, he could retain the same drivers and could give them employment all or most of the year. When the truck driver was laid off November 5, 1938, and could not come to an agreement about other work for the same employer, he applied for benefits. The employer disputed the claim on the ground that

the truck driver was a seasonal worker, but the appeal tribunal declared, "A truck driver, because of the nature of his work and because he ordinarily engages in truck driving when not working for the employer, is held not to be a seasonal worker." He was, therefore, awarded benefits. This case raises the knotty problem of defining an occupation. How much different does one job have to be from another to establish the two jobs as representing different occupations? Would the tender of a milk separator have a different occupation from the man who tended the ice cream freezers? Would handlers of cases of beer have different occupations from those who handled cans of milk? If such occupations are so specialized that the same person would not be qualified to process or handle the two commodities without "special training," the seasons of the three parts of the business might be separately defined, and benefit rights would accrue and be payable only during the specific season of each. A worker might be engaged for almost the entire year and then be laid off without rights to benefits, because he was laid off at the end of a defined season. If the employer's business could be regarded as a unit, any worker employed by him would acquire benefit credits for all of the work he did. However, if it were of sufficient importance, the employer could create three corporations and operate them as independent businesses, and this would apparently make seasonal workers of any persons who work in any one or more of them, unless they could establish the fact of an occupation, as the truck driver did.

Under the West Virginia law, a worker who earns at least 80 percent of his wage credits from one seasonal employer or employers is a seasonal worker. He is entitled to receive benefits only during

⁷ *Ibid.*, 287—Oreg.—A.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 286—Oreg.—A.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1955—Mo.—A.

the seasonal period of operations. A curious case arose in connection with the summer employment of a teacher. This teacher had, for a number of years, worked during the summer for the same employer, but during the summer in question, the employer had no employment for him. He applied for benefits, although he held a contract for the school year beginning in the fall. The commission said, "A teacher is not entitled to receive benefits based upon wages earned during vacation periods when a succeeding vacation period finds him unable to find temporary employment; such a claimant is not unemployed."¹⁰ The commission based its opinion upon the fact that the legislature did not incorporate any provision on seasonal employment in the law but merely directed the commission to study the problem. From this fact the commission concluded that the legislature did not mean to provide benefits for seasonal workers. This is an extraordinary inference, in view of the fact that the law provides benefits for unemployed persons who have worked a minimum time in covered employment. The opinion is even more incomprehensible, because the commission cites the expressed purposes of unemployment compensation which include maintenance of "as great purchasing power as possible" and promotion of "stability of employment as a requisite of social and economic security." West Virginia has an experience rating provision in its law. The effect of this opinion by the Commission is, not to encourage the employer who had utilized the services of the teacher for several summers to stabilize his employment, but to assure him that seasonal employment was not intended to be stabilized. Furthermore, the opinion obviously reduced the pur-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1320—W. Va.—R.

chasing power of the teacher in that summer of unemployment by the amount of the benefits normally payable for credits acquired.

A claim involving the rights of a housewife to benefits when unemployed in a seasonal industry was appealed to the courts in Wisconsin.¹¹ The employer appealed this case when the commission awarded benefits to the claimant. The claimant normally worked about twenty weeks in each year in a seasonal employment; during the remainder of the year, her only occupation was that of housewife. The court held that under the law her occupation as housewife must be interpreted as self-employment, and, hence, that she had no right to benefits. In the statement of policy in the Wisconsin statute the following sentence occurs: "The decreased and irregular purchasing power of the wage earners in turn vitally affects the livelihood of farmers, merchants and manufacturers, results in a decreased demand for their product and thus tends partially to paralyze the economic life of the state."¹² The provision of the law which eliminated the claim of the case in question clearly contradicts the principle stated in the alleged purpose of the law. If the statement of purpose controlled the administration of benefits, the claimant would have received benefits and would have had some additional purchasing power to contribute to the maintenance of general business which is stated to be one of the purposes of unemployment compensation. The Wisconsin statute has restricted the principle of maintenance of purchasing power.

These contested cases bring out several

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2186—Wis. Ct.—D. See also 286 N.W. 593.

¹² Unemployment Compensation Law, sec. 108.01 (1).

important points in connection with special provisions for seasonal workers. The Oregon cases indicate that in practice the unemployment compensation agency has to determine a season for each employing unit which requests it. Lumbering companies may have different seasons. If an employee continues in the employ of a lumbering firm one day beyond the close of the predetermined season, he may cease to be a seasonal worker and become entitled to benefits on the basis of all the weeks during which he was employed in insured employment. A fellow employee who lost his job the day before would be entitled to no benefits. The Missouri case distinguishes between a worker who has what may be defined as an "occupation" without necessary seasonal fluctuations and a worker in the employ of the same employer who may not have such an occupation. The first one, when out of work, is entitled to benefits, but the other one is subject to the restrictions imposed upon seasonal workers, although both of them may have worked for the same length of time for the same employer. The West Virginia case raises the question of simultaneous employment on two jobs. The commission decided that the teacher was actually employed as a teacher during the interim between the close of school in the spring and its opening in the fall. Yet he was in no way subject to the orders of the local school board during this period, and, so far as the board was concerned, it was entirely satisfactory for him to supplement his income by working in the summers. In order to escape paying unemployment compensation, the commission had to declare the teacher employed. The Wisconsin Industrial Commission awarded benefits to the woman who, when she was laid off, returned to her domestic duties, but the

court ruled that she was self-employed and made out a case that she was receiving the equivalent of remuneration because she did not have to retain her maid after the seasonal employment was ended. It, therefore, seems that the equitable application of the special seasonal provisions in all the state laws is a tedious, expensive administrative task.

FUNCTIONS OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Ida C. Merriam has stated and discussed the practical reasons which have been advanced for the limitation of benefit rights of seasonal workers. She summarized these as follows:

"It is said that: (1) Seasonal unemployment is predictable, and seasonal workers face not the probability but the certainty of some unemployment year after year; therefore, seasonal unemployment is not properly within the scope of a social insurance system. (2) Seasonal workers are already compensated for their periods of unemployment by high hourly wage rates. (3) The drain of benefit payments to seasonal workers will bankrupt State unemployment compensation funds, rendering them insolvent in times of recession and thus depriving steady workers of the benefits due them. (4) Benefit payments to seasonal workers will subsidize seasonal industries and encourage seasonality of operation."¹³

Miss Merriam finds that seasonal unemployment is in fact much less predictable either as to incidence or duration than is often supposed; that many seasonal industries do not pay high hourly wages but that, aside from this, the important consideration is not the hourly rate but the adequacy of the annual income to maintain a standard of living compatible with decency and health; that experience to date does not indicate that the solvency of the state unemployment compensation funds is threatened; and that the state-

¹³ Ida C. Merriam, "Seasonal Workers and Unemployment Compensation," *Social Security Bulletin*, Sept., 1938, p. 9.

ment that payment of seasonal benefits will subsidize seasonal industries and encourage seasonality in operation is, because of experience rating provisions in American laws, the exact opposite of what is claimed.

With reference to Miss Merriam's point that the solvency of funds is not threatened by payments for seasonal unemployment some statistics are pertinent. On January 31, 1938, the balance in the Wisconsin fund was \$30,435,134.07 and on February 29, 1940, the Wisconsin fund stood at \$50,495,000.00.¹⁴ Wisconsin has been paying benefits since July, 1936,

Since the burden of seasonal workers has not affected state trust funds adversely where benefits have been paid to them on the same basis as to other workers, it is important that the functions of unemployment compensation, as conceived in this country, be examined in their relation to the seasonal discriminations in many state laws. Foreign laws have little value for us on this question, because, in countries such as Great Britain and Germany, benefits are payable for the maximum period, if the minimum amount of employment to qualify can be shown by the claimant. In this coun-

TABLE I
COMPARISON OF CONDITION OF TRUST FUNDS IN SELECTED PAIRS OF STATES FOR TWO DATES, JAN. 31, 1938,
AND FEB. 29, 1940*
(Figures in millions)

STATES WITHOUT SPECIAL SEASONAL PROVISIONS	JAN. 31, 1938	FEB. 29, 1940	RATIO (3) TO (2)	STATES WITH SPECIAL SEASONAL PROVISIONS	JAN. 31, 1938	FEB. 29, 1940	RATIO (7) TO (6)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
California.....	\$63.3	\$156.5	2.47	Washington.....	\$6.2	\$22.8	3.68
Montana.....	1.6	6.4	4.00	Colorado.....	4.9	11.2	2.29
New York.....	96.6	191.4	1.98	Massachusetts.....	39.1	77.4	1.95
Tennessee.....	7.5	14.3	1.91	Alabama.....	8.3	13.3	1.60
Wisconsin.....	30.4	50.5	1.66	Minnesota.....	10.6	24.6	2.32

* *Social Security Bulletin*, March, 1938, p. 32, and April, 1940, p. 34, respectively.

and does not have a special provision in the law regarding seasonal benefits. If there was any great danger to the solvency of the fund, it should have begun to show up in the trust fund after four years. Table I shows the relative condition of unemployment trust funds in selected pairs of states in the same regions. Three states without special seasonal provisions in their laws have better ratios than the corresponding states of the same regions, but on the whole there seems to be no consistent difference in financial conditions between pairs of states.

¹⁴ *Social Security Bulletin*, March, 1938, p. 32, and April, 1940, p. 34, respectively.

try we determine not only the benefit amount, but in most states the duration of benefits, on the basis of earnings. That necessitates a different formula.

The first and obvious aim of unemployment compensation is to pay benefits to unemployed workers who have been laid off from insured employment. Benefits are expected to aid the worker and his family to maintain their standard of living, or a fraction of it, during periods of unemployment. That is in the interest of the worker both as an individual and as a worker and the parent of children who are potential workers. If an unemployment compensation system should

fail in a substantial proportion of the cases to do this, it would have failed in its primary purpose and should be revised or abolished. But in a large number of state laws the maintenance of purchasing power in the community and the stabilization of employment are stated to be objectives of an unemployment compensation system. None of these three aims can be considered apart from seasonal employment and seasonal industries. To do so would be to assume that the same level of employment is maintained in almost all industry throughout the calendar year and that the seasonal industries are negligible in volume and in importance. But the contrary is the fact: most business operates on reduced schedules, and therefore reduced payrolls, during some part of the year.

The maintenance of purchasing power in the community is aided considerably by the payment of benefits to unemployed workers. If it is desirable to maintain the purchasing power of the steady worker who is thrown out of employment by a depression or a new invention or by a downward secular trend in his industry, it should be equally desirable to maintain the purchasing power of workers who are laid off for some portion of each year. Few data are available to compare the amount of wages lost in seasonal unemployment with the amount lost in cyclical unemployment, but, if the total were known for a complete trade cycle, seasonal unemployment might prove to be a more serious matter for the worker's standard of living than cyclical unemployment. The maintenance of purchasing power through the payment of benefits is supposed to prevent the flow of goods from farm, factories, and stores from declining as low as it otherwise would and, therefore, to prevent an important amount of unemployment. This is the reasoning

which business men and theorists have used in connection with the purchasing power argument. It is just as sound, and no sounder, for the payment of benefits to seasonal workers as it is for the payment of benefits to workers who may be unemployed for other reasons. It is not the reason for unemployment, barring cases of serious misconduct, that should be the criterion of compensation but the fact of unemployment.

The American type of unemployment compensation law with its experience rating is supposed to aid in the stabilization of employment. An employer can do little about cyclical unemployment, and he probably can do nothing about a downward secular trend in employment in a particular industry. He can perhaps introduce technological changes gradually and systematically and absorb some of the shock to the workers who would be displaced by machines or new administrative devices, but in the long run he can do little about the effects of new inventions. The probability is that the only type of unemployment over which he has any considerable control is seasonal. Stabilization of seasonal changes is in measure possible. If the payment of benefits to seasonal workers is either eliminated or greatly restricted, the employer is encouraged to do little stabilizing, and it may be seriously doubted that the cost and usefulness of the experience rating provisions can be justified. In foreign laws as well as American laws there are minimum periods of work in insured employment within a given time which must be shown by a worker in order to qualify for benefits. In American laws the qualifying period is stated in various ways, but some of them are such as these: must have earned 13 times his weekly benefit amount in the last 4 quarters; must have earned 16 times the weekly

benefit amount in 3 or 4 out of 5 quarters; must have earned 30 times the weekly benefit amount in 4 quarters; etc. These qualifying conditions eliminate the short-time worker regardless of the type of industry in which he may work. The complementary provisions which specify that an employer is a contributor, only if he operates for a minimum number of weeks during the year, usually 15 to 20 weeks, eliminates short-time industries or jobs. Hence, the extremely short-season industries are excluded from participation, along with their employees, by these qualifying conditions which the employer is allowed.

Under our laws the only seasonal restrictions should be those imposed in the form of minimum employment qualifications. There is no good reason why a canning plant which operates for eight weeks should not pay contributions. It draws workers from the community; it takes them away from some other occupation, if there is one available; and it benefits from the community. Workers who engage in such short-time industries could accumulate wage credits in more than one and during the year might meet the minimum employment qualifications for benefits. That would add to the purchasing power of the community in slack months. The duration of benefits of a seasonal worker, assuming that he had no other employment, would be the ratio (in most states) of his wage credits to his weekly benefit amount. He might be entitled to receive benefits for only four or five weeks, but that is an addition

to the means of maintaining his standard of living. Since both benefit amounts and duration of benefits are determined on the basis of earnings and/or weeks of employment, it is a simple matter to determine the actuarial rate of contribution necessary to pay benefits to all covered workers. To say that irregular or seasonal employment cannot be considered for benefits, because it is actuarially unsound, is to misconceive the function of actuarial science. Given the requisite mass data, actuarial science can determine the probabilities of any relevant event.

There seems to be no adequate reason, then, for excluding seasonal workers from unemployment compensation benefits. Furthermore, exclusion implies a contradiction of both the purchasing power argument and the stabilization argument which have been advanced by employers in favor of our kind of unemployment compensation. If seasonal workers are to have their benefit rights restricted further than the minimum employment qualification already restricts them, then the experience rating provisions of the state laws should be repealed. These provisions will otherwise become only a device for enabling the employer without effort to reduce his contribution rate. Experience rating is expensive to administer because of the detailed records which must be kept. If it puts pressure on employers to stabilize employment, the cost may be defensible, but proof of stabilizing effects can only be found in the experience with seasonal operations.

LABOR IMMOBILITY AND TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT

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I

IN HIS stimulating discussion of technological unemployment, published more than thirty years ago, Professor J. B. Clark acutely observed that "Every device that 'saves labor' calls for a *re-arrangement of labor* in the system of organized industry."¹ In this sentence Professor Clark pointed to one of the most important aspects of technological progress. The introduction of new and more efficient machines, improvements in plant methods and organization, the shifting of industry from one community or region to another, the horizontal or vertical merging of separate plants or companies, all of these changes—all now commonly referred to as "technological" changes—not only save labor but bring about numerous modifications in both the occupational and the geographical grouping of the laborers.

The rate at which the process of modification is carried out depends basically upon two factors: the speed with which new jobs open up for the displaced workers, and the ease with which the workers can take advantage of the jobs. If jobs are unavailable, the process obviously cannot be completed. Nor can it be completed if the displaced workers are unavailable. The problem of technological unemployment can thus be divided into two parts, one part relating to the demand for labor and the other relating to the supply of labor. When technolog-

ical unemployment exists, when there is a lag between the displacement of labor and its re-absorption, there must be either deficiencies in labor demand or deficiencies in labor supply—or deficiencies in both.

In most discussions of the subject up to the present time by far the larger amount of attention has been given to the demand for labor, and on the whole rightly so. Technological unemployment is very largely a "demand" problem, and economists and others interested in the matter have long viewed it as such.² More recently, however, evidence has been accumulating which indicates that supply factors, manifesting themselves in labor immobility, may also be important in connection with the problem. This evidence has to some extent been observed, but its true significance, particularly with respect to the years ahead, has not been adequately recognized. It seems worth while, therefore, to approach this widely discussed type of unemployment, not from the standpoint of job scarcity, but from that of labor immobility.³

² The historical development of opinion on the relationship between technological change and the demand for labor is treated most exhaustively and most capably in one of the recent studies put out by the National Research Project of the WPA. See *Survey of Economic Theory on Technological Change and Employment* by Alexander Gourvitch.

³ It is not to be inferred that these are alternative methods of approaching the problem. They are anything but that. They are complementary methods, and both are indispensable to any satisfactory understanding not only of technological unemployment but of unemployment in general. In addition to being complementary they are to no small extent interdependent as well. An excellent discussion of their interdependency is contained in Joan Robinson's

¹ *Essentials of Economic Theory* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), p. 249. George Gunton, some years earlier, also spoke of labor-saving machinery as bringing about a "rearrangement" of labor. See *Trusts and the Public* (New York: Appleton, 1899), p. 163.

In the discussion that follows, the term "labor immobility" will be given a broad meaning, and one in accord with common understanding. It will mean simply the unwillingness or inability of labor to move to new occupations (occupational immobility) or to new localities (geographical immobility). Since displaced workers, and other unemployed individuals as well, are sometimes called upon to change both their occupation and their locality, the term will also cover cases in which labor is unable or unwilling to make this twofold adjustment. "Labor mobility," on the other hand, will mean just the opposite.⁴

II

Direct statements concerning the relationship between labor immobility—or labor mobility—and the problem of technological unemployment are not numerous nor extensively developed in the writings of the early economists. And the same is essentially true of the discussions of the subject found in the works of their successors. But economists have long expressed opinions on the general question of labor mobility. These opinions, while not made with direct reference to technologically displaced workers, nevertheless apply to them as they do to other workers. Hence, in the following historical description of views relating to the shifting of labor from place to place and from occupation to occupation, both specific and general statements will be noted.

According to John Davidson, the author of a well-known book on wages, "The

book, *Essays in the Theory of Employment* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), section starting on p. 40.

⁴ Within each of the two broad kinds of mobility, or immobility, there are various types. For a development of this point see C. E. Lively's article, "Spatial and Occupational Changes of Particular Significance to the Student of Population Mobility," *Social Forces*, 15 (March, 1937), pp. 351-355.

early economists spoke lightly of trade mobility, as if there were no real hindrances, or if, in a word, workmen took up, at or any rate could take up, a new trade every week."⁵ This statement may be somewhat extreme, but on the whole it appears to be sound. Certainly it receives substantial confirmation from the opinion expressed by Adam Smith. "If in the same neighborhood," said Smith, "there was any employment evidently either more or less advantageous than the rest, so many people would crowd into it in the one case, and so many would desert it in the other, that its advantages would soon return to the level of other employments." Or "at least," Smith added, somewhat cautiously, this "would be the case in a society where things were left to follow their natural course."⁶ For "the whole of the advantages and disadvantages of labor" to be equal, as in a society where things took their natural course, or be tending toward equality, as in a society in which there is considerable interference, a rather high degree of occupational mobility would obviously be necessary.

John Ramsay M'Culloch, some decades after Smith, also "spoke lightly of trade mobility," and in his case it was with definite regard to technologically unemployed workers. Writing of the changes in employments sometimes caused by the introduction of improved machinery, M'Culloch asserted that "In the majority of businesses, this is not perhaps so great a hardship as might at first be supposed." For businesses, he said, have "for the most part many things in com-

⁵ *The Bargain Theory of Wages* (New York: Putnam's, 1898), p. 182.

⁶ *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London: Dent, 1924, Everyman's ed.), Vol. I, p. 88.

mon" and "an individual who has attained to any considerable proficiency in one, has seldom much difficulty in employing himself in another."⁷

But M'Culloch had contemporaries who did not share his optimistic belief. To Nassau William Senior, "The difficulty with which labor is transferred from one occupation to another is the principal evil of a high state of civilization."⁸ Previous to Senior, Charles Babbage, an intelligent writer on economic questions though not an economist, in discussing the displacement of labor by machinery stated that the individuals who are driven from their old employments are not always fitted for the new jobs that are available.⁹ And John Stuart Mill, in stressing the strong tendency for children to follow the same occupations as their fathers, and in suggesting the existence of what Cairnes later called "non-competing groups,"¹⁰ at least inferred that formidable obstacles existed in the way of occupational mobility. Later economists, such as Cairnes,¹¹ whom we have just mentioned, and Walker,¹² and also Davidson,¹³ emphasized the difficulties in the way of an easy transition of labor from one occupation to another.

⁷ *The Principles of Political Economy* (Edinburgh: Black, 1849, 4th ed.), p. 210. An earlier statement of M'Culloch's of a like nature will be found in the *Edinburgh Review* (March, 1821), p. 115.

⁸ *Political Economy* (Glasgow: Griffin, 1854, 3rd ed.), p. 217.

⁹ *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufacturers* (London: Knight, 1832), p. 229.

¹⁰ *Principles of Political Economy* (London: Longmans, 1926, Ashley ed.), p. 393. Mill pointed out, however, that the old barriers were being broken down.

¹¹ J. E. Cairnes, *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy* (New York: Harper, 1874), Chap. III, section 5.

¹² Francis A. Walker, *The Wages Question* (New York: Holt, 1876), Chap. XI.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, chap. V.

Today most economists would agree with Edwin Cannan's view that on the fringe or margin of each employment there is a certain number of individuals who can switch over to new jobs without a great deal of difficulty, but that "as you cut, so to speak, more deeply into the mass, you come further and further into a region of increasing difficulty."¹⁴ Unfortunately—fortunately in the "long-run" and for the nation as a whole—the impact of technological change frequently extends beyond this fringe and penetrates into "the region of increasing difficulty." Moreover, it is not the workers on the fringe who are always the first ones to be displaced. In many cases, probably in most cases, those who are displaced are *within* the fringe.¹⁵

Coming to geographical immobility, Adam Smith's famous pronouncement must of necessity be quoted. Smith, it will be recalled, declared that man is "of all sorts of luggage the most difficult to be transported."¹⁶ That statement was made in 1776, before the beginning of the Railway Era. The geographical mobility of labor was greatly facilitated as the new era developed, but other obstacles still remained. Writing on the question near the end of the 19th century, William Smart went so far as to say that "physically, labor is not mobile; historically, it has never been mobile; and,

¹⁴ Edwin Cannan, *A Review of Economic Theory* (London: King, 1929), p. 112.

¹⁵ The narrowness of the fringe should not be exaggerated. That many workers do move—or attempt to move—from occupation to occupation, and from industry to industry, cannot be denied. Interesting evidence on this matter will be found in B. R. Morley's study, *Occupational Experience of Applicants for Work in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1930), chap. VI; and in chap. IV of *Changes in Machinery and Job Requirements in Minnesota Manufacturing, 1931-36*, National Research Project, WPA.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

ethically, it should not be mobile."¹⁷ It is doubtful if many of Smart's contemporaries or immediate predecessors completely endorsed his belief, though the existence of serious difficulties in the way of physical movement seems to have been recognized.¹⁸ In their purely theoretical discussions, of course, the economists generally assumed a high degree of labor mobility, both geographically and occupationally.

Whatever historical truth Smart's statement may possess, and that question we cannot pause to discuss, his view that labor is physically immobile cannot be accepted as an accurate description of conditions today, not of conditions in the United States at least. Looking at the nation as a whole, and in terms of what might be called "per capita mobility per annum," we probably have all the geographical movement we need. But the trouble is that it is not properly divided. In some sections of the country, and in some groups, there is too much mobility, and in some sections and groups there is too little.

While it is clear from the foregoing presentation of opinions that the older economists did not disregard completely the relationship between labor immobility and technological unemployment, it must be said that they did not develop the relationship to any large extent. The factor of labor demand was stressed, but not the problems associated with an unadjustable and idle labor supply. In this connection it is significant to note that in Alexander Gourvitch's very thorough *Survey of Economic Theory on Techno-*

logical Change and Employment there is very little about labor immobility. Perhaps in the years ahead there will grow up a body of theory centering around this factor which will to some extent match—and coalesce with—the body of theory that exists concerning technological change and the demand for labor. At any rate, it is altogether likely that labor immobility will receive more consideration in the future than it has in the past.

III

A number of developments are in operation at the present time which give promise of making the labor-immobility "angle" of technological unemployment of increasing importance. Some of these developments are tending to reduce the degree of mobility; some are making a higher degree of mobility desirable.

Age discrimination in industry is one of the developments, or forces, pulling in the direction of less mobility. The extent to which such discrimination exists is not definitely known, but a number of studies have been made which throw a certain amount of light on the matter. Table 1 contains some of the findings of one of these studies, a study carried out a few years ago by the National Industrial Conference Board.

There is good reason for believing that the extent of age discrimination in industry is wider than the preceding table indicates.¹⁹ Employers can easily debar

¹⁷ *Studies in Economics* (London: Macmillan, 1895), p. 131. The last part of Smart's statement must be interpreted in the light of the explanatory remarks he makes.

¹⁸ Both Walker and Davidson, in their books already mentioned, discuss the problem of geographical immobility very realistically and at some length.

¹⁹ In a recent study dealing with machinery and job requirements in Minnesota manufacturing establishments the following statement is made: "From the responses vouchsafed by most executives of the plants covered, it would appear that very few maintain a definite policy with regard to this question. However, it is beyond doubt that there is a conspiracy of silence on the part of industry about the entire subject of age restrictions." See *Changes in Machinery and Job Requirements in Minnesota Manufacturing, 1931-36*, National Research Project, WPA, pp. 35-36.

older workers without having any formal age limits established, and that many of them act in this manner seems beyond dispute.

The presence of maximum age limits in industry clearly interferes with the reabsorption of the older workers displaced by technological improvements. It discourages occupational mobility and to some extent geographical mobility as well. Since the setting-up of these limits is largely a product of industrial mechanization, the significance of this factor as

TABLE I
MAXIMUM AGE LIMITS IN HIRING—NUMBER OF
ESTABLISHMENTS, WITH OR WITHOUT DEFINITE
LIMITS*

	FOR MALES	FOR FE- MALES
25 years.....	0	2
30 ".....	1	12
35 ".....	1	6
40 ".....	15	18
45 ".....	22	14
50 ".....	33	12
55 ".....	7	2
60 ".....	16	6
65 ".....	3	2
No definite limits.....	306	267
Total establishments.....	405	341

* From the *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1937, p. 65.

a retarding influence on mobility will tend to become greater as mechanization progresses.

Another factor which will tend to increase the degree of labor immobility in the coming years is the change that is taking place in the age structure of the population. Because of the declining birth rate—which first manifested itself more than a century ago—and also because of the drop in the number of immigrants coming into the country, the percentage of older people in the nation's population is increasing. This process has been going

on for some time, to be sure; but the point to be particularly noted is that it is by no means near completion. The "aging" of the population will continue for some decades to come.

The growth in the percentage of older people, and the consequent decline in the percentage of younger ones, means that the relative amount of labor in "disposable form," to use Cairnes' expression,²⁰ is decreased. This means, in turn, that the rearrangement of labor, of which we have spoken, will be made with greater difficulty; for it follows that the younger and the more adaptable is the country's working force the more rapidly can be completed the numerous acts of rearrangement which technological improvements demand.

The full effect of the Social Security program on labor mobility cannot be accurately gauged at the present time but a number of tentative conclusions can be reached. Old Age and Survivors' Insurance undoubtedly increases mobility, first by making it possible for the recipients of the insurance benefits to receive their payments irrespective of their place of residence; and secondly, by encouraging workers to drop out of employment after they reach 65 years of age. As the coverage of this part of the Social Security Act is enlarged, the degree of labor mobility will tend to be increased.

Old Age Assistance and Unemployment Compensation, on the other hand, reduce labor mobility. The residence requirements found under the Old-Age Assistance laws, and the ability to receive monetary aid simply on the basis of proof of need, help to discourage the search for jobs

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 64. Critical appraisals of Cairnes' idea will be found in Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-204, and in Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 185-189. Interesting observations on this same point will also be found in Cannan, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

both in new localities and in new industries. As business activity picks up, however, and as the need for this type of charity diminishes, its adverse influence on labor mobility will decrease.

The influence of unemployment compensation in lessening mobility will likely grow. As more workers are brought under the compensation laws, as the length of the waiting period is lessened, and as the benefit payments are liberalized, both through an increase in the amount paid per week and in the number of weeks for which benefits are payable, the willingness of workers to shift to other occupations and other localities will decline. They will be exposed to a still greater temptation to defer the search for new jobs. As the coverage of the laws is extended, the degree to which workers shift from uncovered to covered employment will also be reduced. And if the various state laws should become more uniform, which is quite possible, any tendency that workers have to move to the more liberal states will be weakened. The merit-rating provisions in the laws, which will come into more extensive application during the next few years, will also discourage mobility by prompting employers to substitute part-time work for complete layoffs—a policy which is also being greatly encouraged by the unions. Insofar as these provisions encourage mechanization, they will also lead to labor displacement and hence to an increase in the number of individuals who should be mobile.²¹

²¹ No thorough analysis has yet been made of the actual and probable effects of our Social Security legislation on labor mobility. The observations made above are suggestive rather than exhaustive. For further discussions of the question see Professor J. A. Estey's article in *Social Forces*, 15 (March, 1937), pp. 417-422; and Professor Sumner Slichter's treatment in *The American Economic Review, Supplement* (March, 1940), pp. 44-60.

In addition to the developments that have just been mentioned and which are making labor less mobile, there are others, some of them actual, some of them possible, which will increase the need for greater mobility. Predominant among these developments are certain technological changes in the agricultural industry.

The potential effects of the cotton-picking machine on agricultural labor in the South appear extremely far reaching and productive of a most serious mobility problem. While the transition to the use of the cotton picker will likely be gradual rather than sudden, and will vary greatly from one region to another, the effect on southern farm labor will be very severe. Many individuals will be forced to shift to industrial occupations. They will have to accept work for which they are not fitted either by temperament or by training. Many will also be compelled to shift to other areas. In the middle 'thirties Rupert B. Vance tentatively estimated that the minimum migration from the Old Cotton Belt during the decade following recovery would be between 1,500,000 and 2,500,000, and the maximum between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000.²² These figures are not based solely on the influence of the cotton picker, but the probable effects of the machine are of course taken into account. A migration movement of such magnitude has astounding implications, even if thought of in terms of the minimum estimate. Among many other things it will involve an immense problem of geographical relocation.

²² Carter Goodrich and Associates, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), pp. 156-157. This study also contains further estimates relating to the probable, or desirable, migration from other "trouble areas." See pp. 122, 196, 243-244.

The continued and growing use of the tractor, not only in the cotton-growing parts of the South but in other sections of the country as well, will also add to the problem of technological unemployment and labor mobility. Individuals will continue to be "tractored off" their land, possibly in increasing numbers, and will be confronted with the necessity of finding new jobs.²³

In addition to the cotton picker and the tractor, other mechanical devices will be used to a still greater extent in the agricultural industry—trucks, automobiles, combines, various types of implements—all resulting in an economy in the use of labor, and all helping to produce a situation in which a high degree of labor mobility, *guided* labor mobility, and mobility both of an occupational and a geographical nature, is desirable.

Another development which will increase the need for greater mobility is the growth of trade unions with their various restrictive policies. As unions continue to grow, wages will tend to become more rigid. This will under some conditions induce employers to hire fewer laborers, and thus displaced workers may have to turn to nonunionized employments, or to union employments in which wages are less rigid.²⁴ And these employments will often be in different localities and also in

different industries from those in which the displaced workers were employed. If apprenticeship restrictions and high initiation and membership fees should become more widespread, the same general result will follow.

If in the coming years the commodity price structure should become more inflexible, and evidence that this will happen is by no means lacking, the need for greater mobility will also be increased. When the monetary gains of technological improvements are withheld from the consumers; when, in other words, prices are not reduced in keeping with the lower costs of production, not only is the amount of labor displacement increased, but the amount of labor mobility involved in the re-absorption of the displaced workers becomes greater.

If a cost-reducing improvement leads to a lower price on the article produced, there will be an increase in the number of units purchased, the extent of the increase depending on the elasticity of demand for the article. With more units being purchased, more will have to be produced, and this means that some of the workers whose services were in the first instance rendered unnecessary by the improvement, will in many cases be kept on, either in their old department or in other departments in the plant.

It should be borne in mind, however, that even though the demand should be so elastic as to make possible the same number of jobs as before, the individuals in the jobs may not be the same ones as previously employed. That is to say, while labor has not been displaced, individual laborers have been. This is the very opposite of the situation envisaged by J. B. Clark when he pointed out that as a result of younger workers flowing into expanding occupations and keeping out of contracting ones, there

²³ In 1937 the number of tractors in use on the farms of this country was estimated at 1,314,042. At the present time the number likely stands at something more than a million and a half. And, "it is . . . well within the range of present trends that 2½ million farm tractors may be in use by the end of another 10 to 20 years." See *Tractors, Trucks and Automobiles*, National Research Project, WPA, pp. 73, 78.

²⁴ There is a possibility that in some cases, however, a higher wage forced through collective bargaining may induce employers to hire more men. See Sumner H. Slichter, *Modern Economic Society* (New York: Holt, 1931), pp. 639-640. Unions may also increase mobility in other ways, especially when they act in the capacity of employment agencies.

can be a shift of labor without a shift of laborers.²⁵ Here there would be no shift of labor but there would be a shift of laborers.

If the price of the article is not reduced, the pecuniary gains resulting from the improvement will accrue to the dividend receivers or possibly to the wage earners. In either case the extra income will, in time, be spent. But to a great extent it will be spent on other articles and services, and, to profit by the increased demand for labor required in the production of these other articles and services, the displaced workers will in many instances have to transfer themselves to new industries and also to new localities—and perhaps to new occupations as well.

In summation, then, it would seem that labor mobility as a factor in technological unemployment will take on added significance in the years to come. While it is true that a number of developments, such as Old Age and Survivors' Insurance, the leveling of skills, and the increasing use of the automobile, will tend to pull in the other direction, their combined influence will likely be insufficient to overcome the effect of the various factors we have mentioned. Under any condition, the proper amount and the proper type of mobility in the labor market will be achieved only through positive action directed specifically toward that end.

V

To achieve the optimum degree of adjustability on the part of labor to the constant structural changes that are going on in industry, labor must be mobile, both geographically and occupationally. But it must not be too mobile. As far as geographical mobility is concerned, it is not necessary "that the whole body

of laborers should be organized like a Tartar tribe, packed and saddled ready for flight."²⁶ There is a danger, and it is a danger with which we are by no means unfamiliar, that labor may sometimes be too mobile, resulting in aimless and fruitless wandering. Both excessive mobility and inadequate mobility are wasteful and should be guarded against. What is needed is, in the words of Beveridge, "not simply the fluidity of labor, but the organized and intelligent fluidity of labor—the enabling of men to go at once where they are wanted, but at the same time the discouraging of movement to places where men are not wanted."²⁷ The same is true of occupational mobility. It is just as important for labor to be properly "allocated" occupationally as geographically.

An adequate program for achieving this twofold objective could be drawn up only after very careful study. Much could be done, however, by extending the scope of certain policies that are already in operation. The work of the United States Employment Service should be more closely coordinated so as to aid geographical mobility. Perhaps a special division, a "Displaced Workers' Division," could be established within the Service which would give particular attention to the technologically unemployed. Possibly financial aid—loans, or reduced railway rates, as in Canada—could be granted to workers who can be placed in jobs at a distance.

A truly extensive program of vocational rehabilitation would seem desirable. If the Federal Government would appropriate each year several millions of

²⁵ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 180. Walker's statement was made apropos the theory of perfect competition as developed by the early economists.

²⁷ Sir William Beveridge, *Unemployment, a Problem of Industry* (London: Longman's, 1930), p. 209.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 252.

dollars for this work, and if it would allocate these funds among the various states and municipalities on condition that they match the Federal contributions, or even a fraction of them, a very effective retraining program for displaced workers could be put into operation. While the states and municipalities would directly administer the program, with some degree of Federal supervision, the actual process of retraining would have to be carried out primarily by employers. And to ensure adequate cooperation from the employers

the granting of some financial incentive to them would be essential.

In addition to aiding in the retraining of the technologically-displaced workers, the Federal Government and the lesser governmental units could do still more toward the handling of the problem by extending the scope of their present program of vocational training. Additional effort could be expended in preparing young persons for work in expanding industries and occupations and in keeping them out of those that are declining.

THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CONSUMER EDUCATION

"Consumer Education for Life Problems" will be the theme of the Third National Conference on Consumer Education, sponsored by the Institute for Consumer Education at Stephens College, Columbia, Mo. Scheduled for April 7, 8 and 9—Monday through Wednesday—advance reservations are flowing in to such an extent that attendance this year promises to match, if not exceed, that of previous meetings. Last year's three-day meeting drew an attendance of more than 700 high school and college educators, government officials, consumer organization leaders, and businessmen from 33 States and the District of Columbia.

The Institute's yearly conferences have been so successful in the past and have received so much attention that they are now recognized as a national "consumer education sounding board"—a forum at which some of the best thought of the year is presented and the problems of consumer education are thrashed out from all points of view.

The topics for discussion under the general theme of Consumer Education for Life Problems include: Adapting Consumer Education to Specific Needs; Criteria for Evaluating Consumer Education Materials; Consumer Education and Education for Living; The Place of Consumer Education in National Defense; Consumer Education and Protection by Federal Agencies; Consumer Education—A National Responsibility. In addition, there will be a number of round table discussions on consumer education topics in which everyone is invited to participate actively.

For detailed information write Joseph Melia, Institute for Consumer Education, Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri.

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A STUDY OF RURAL SOCIETY: ITS ORGANIZATION AND CHANGES. Revised and enlarged edition. By J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. 694 pp. \$3.75.

ELEMENTS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY. Third revised edition. By Newell LeRoy Sims. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1940. 690 pp. \$3.75.

RURAL LIFE IN PROCESS. By Paul H. Landis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940. 599 pp. \$3.75.

Kolb and Brunner in their revised edition have made a number of improvements over their 1935 text; such as adding a

chapter on rural youth, and a new section on agricultural labor; rewriting and bringing up to date the chapters dealing with rural relief, public health, and welfare, and agricultural legislation and policy. The section on farm tenancy has been expanded from a meager 8 pages in the 1935 edition to a still meager 11 pages in the 1940 edition. "A number of other sections have also been brought up-to-date, . . . on the basis of the new knowledge rural social research has made available since 1935." (Preface to Second Edition).

From this reviewer's point of view the authors of *A Study of Rural Society* have failed to correct the most serious defects of their first edition. Two of these defects were and remain:

(1) The social theory, the frame of reference, on which any well organized text must be built, is vague and unbalanced. For instance the authors give undue space and emphasis to economic factors. Part three includes three chapters, 88 pages, entitled Agriculture and Its Problems of Adjustment, The Social Economics of Agriculture, and the Social Implications of Agricultural Credit and Cooperation. Sociologists should be able to analyze and interpret the sociological aspects of the economic factors in agriculture, but the authors of *A Study of Rural Society* have not done this. They have merely described in a general way some of the economic aspects and problems of agriculture. Having to cover so much subject matter in so few pages, they have necessarily been less thorough than the subject matter warrants—even as agricultural economics. The sections on farm tenancy and agricultural labor, buried as they are in a general chapter on the Social Economics of Agriculture, stand out like two very sore thumbs—to anyone who has studied these problems in the South.

The unbalance of subject matter is also to be noted in the three chapters given to education as over against only one chapter to the combined subjects of public health, welfare, and their agencies. No attention is given to the problem of rural housing, and the subject of government is combined with a general chapter on community organization.

(2) A second major weakness of Kolb and Brunner's text is that they have drawn their data from a narrow range of sources. Particularly have they over-

looked many of the excellent rural studies made by southern sociologists. Few references are made to the admittedly "excellent studies of numerous social and economic topics" by rural sociologists in the agricultural colleges and experiment stations. Perhaps the authors were thinking of "The Charge of the Light Brigade" when they estimate the number of such bulletins to be more than 600. (Page 664.)

Another and puzzling omission of source references is found in the Appendix, pages 665-669. Here a bibliography of Rural Life in Foreign Lands omits European countries as well as Canada and South America.

Sims, in the third edition of his *Elements of Rural Sociology*, makes no significant change in point of view and few changes in subject matter. There has been a general rearrangement of chapters, an addition of a new chapter on rural poverty and relief, and a partial rewriting of many other chapters.

In the revision, the author has made "use of new points of view, new graphic material, and the latest available data," but "the emphasis, as hitherto, is upon the development of community life, in the belief that the essential sociological problems of rural society and their solution revolve about it." (Preface.) In addition to the changes noted above, topics for discussion have been added at the end of each chapter.

Sims' text, as compared with others in the field, (1) has a wider range of subject matter; (2) is well integrated with social theory; and (3) is well documented with a wide range of source materials. In view of this general and comprehensive approach, it is puzzling to note that Sims does not include a chapter on rural government. In this connection, it is interesting to observe that Sims, in a recent review of

Kolb and Brunner's text, apparently does not consider local government as falling in the province of rural sociology. (*Rural Sociology*, September, 1940, pp. 380-381.)

Sims clings to a rather discredited point of view with regard to the "general psychological attitudes of country people," e.g., that country people are individualistic, conservative, superstitious, emotional and suggestible, suspicious, and so on. This outworn point of view held by a number of otherwise reputable sociologists has not stood up to the test of scientific investigation in recent years. To say that farm people are individualistic or conservative is on the same order of a good many other opinions expressed so frequently by urban people, or by urbanized ex-ruralites, who are not objective, in their use of language at least. One could easily imagine a farmer writing a book on urban sociology, in which urban people would be characterized as "individualistic, conservative, and suspicious" because they consistently refuse to cooperate with farmers in social movements designed to raise the farmers' standard of living. When it comes to calling city people names, country people have their own colorful vocabulary—but this is no place to go into that.

While older rural sociologists must revise their texts frequently (like the old-style calendars which must be redesigned every year), Landis writes a text which capitalizes upon the factor of change itself (like these little mechanical calendar gadgets which can be easily set for any date desired). *Rural Life In Process* is to the conventional rural sociology text what the modern movie camera is to the old-style box kodak. This analogy would be almost literally true, had Landis' text been published in a loose leaf form with blank sheets provided for posting

in the latest newspaper clippings and census figures.

Like Sims, Landis covers a wide range of subject matter, well documented, and well integrated with social theory. The 29 chapters of *Rural Life in Process* are conveniently and logically divided into five major divisions; namely, Part I, The Structure and Organization of Rural Life in the United States; Part II, Social Experience and Personality Formation; Part III, Interaction Processes of a Dynamic Society; Part IV, Social Institutions in a Changing Culture; and Part V, Emerging Problems of a Dynamic Society. Within this framework, Landis covers practically every major subject conventionally classed as rural sociology. For some reason of his own, however, he does not dignify either rural housing or recreation in his chapter headings. Perhaps he had to leave out something in order to include six chapters dealing with population and the seven chapters in Part II on Social Experience and Personality Formation and the two chapters on Rural Pathology and Rural Social Work.

The author has succeeded admirably in organizing his materials in a logical and sociological frame of reference. His treatment of population movements as processes of social interaction are exceptionally well done. Throughout the book the psychological and cultural aspects are in evidence. Few modern sources have escaped the author's eye and he gives generous credit to a wide range of research workers. An author's index is provided—a convenience sadly missing from the other texts reviewed here.

Landis has presented his materials in a readable and attractive manner. In fact, his free and easy journalistic style on occasion might well give way to a more systematic criticism and evaluation of

findings and to a more concise statement of principles and generalizations.

In conclusion, it must be said that Landis has set a new high standard of scholarship in the field of rural sociology. He, along with T. Lynn Smith, has demonstrated that the younger generation of rural sociologists has arrived. Rural sociology is now well on its way toward becoming a scientific discipline in the fullest sense of the word.

C. HORACE HAMILTON

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THE STORY OF TOMPKINSVILLE. By Mary Ellicott Arnold. New York: The Cooperative League, 1940. 102 pp. \$0.65 paper, \$1.00 cloth. Illustrated.

CAN AMERICA BUILD HOUSES? By Miles L. Colean. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1940. No. 19 (Revised), 31 pp. \$0.10 paper.

THE HOMES THE PUBLIC BUILDS. By Edith Elmer Wood and Elizabeth Ogg. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1940. No. 41, 32 pp. \$0.10 paper.

INTRODUCTION TO HOUSING FACTS AND PRINCIPLES. By Edith Elmer Wood. Washington: Federal Works Agency, United States Housing Authority, 1940. 161 pp. \$0.30. Illustrated.

THE LAW OF PUBLIC HOUSING. By William Ebenstein. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1940. 150 pp. \$1.75.

In this little collection can be found abundant empirical and legal evidence to show that housing is moving forward slowly but surely in North America. It is clear, however, that before the fullness of decency in housing—or in democracy itself—can be realized, the public will have to acquire vision and knowledge as prerequisites to wise action: a little dreaming, much more studious thought, and vastly more cooperative-pressure effort.

The dream of delving coal miners, *The Story of Tompkinsville* (named for Dr. J. J. Tompkins, intrepid priest-

cooperator of Nova Scotia), is but one feature of the now well known cooperative movement in the Maritime Provinces. It is a homespun account of study and action, of one woman's experience in helping the toilers' dream to become a reality in the community of Reserve Mines. These low-wage workers had studied themselves into credit unions and cooperative stores so that by 1935 they were thinking of cooperative housing. By 1937 they were ready for the guidance that came from clergy and college extension workers. Then arrived Miss Arnold after many years of leadership in New York City's cooperative organizations. She went to Nova Scotia in 1937 merely to look into the Maritime cooperatives; she saw; she was conquered by the challenging situation; she remained to help studious people help themselves. The story is one of men and women cooperating for family and community betterment. It reveals but a part of the program stimulated by a small university's extension efforts in adult education. It proves that citizens willing to learn can find competent and ready academic assistance in that part of Canada.

Can America Build Houses? a revision of the earlier pamphlet in the Public Affairs Committee's series, deals primarily with private housing but also gives a few paragraphs to public housing. Private enterprise can supply the top third with homes but government subsidy will be necessary for the bottom third for a considerable period of time. The dispute at present is over what "can" and what "can't" be done for the middle third. This revised pamphlet together with *The Homes the Public Builds* will be welcomed by any progressive group of citizens who want to be informed on the subject.

The twenty-first century historian of housing in America will have to feature

the name of Edith Elmer Wood as a champion dispenser of facts and disposer of fallacies. No community study group can afford to be without her *Introduction to Housing* wherein she covers sixteen heavy-faced fallacies with layer upon layer of facts. For those informed on the subject there is little that is new in the book but even for them there is a pleasing quality in the style and the arguments. The opening pages show why the housing problem is so important, and here, without comment, are footnoted a half dozen bulletins of the Department of Agriculture on such important matters as "Beef Cattle Barns," "Practical Hog Houses," et al. The last sentence of the book reads: "Either democracy will destroy the slums, or the slums will destroy democracy." This generality suggests a seventeenth fallacy. Is bad housing anything more than a symptom of a deeply sick society with its face blotched by slums and erosion? Will democracy transmute from the reservoir of its former ideals a cleansing stream that will reduce the apathy, the greed, and the graft?

Folk who work and study cooperatively will sooner or later push politics and stateways into line with human needs. These are times for brave experimentation. "We must let our minds be bold," said Justice Brandeis a few years ago. The policy of the United States Housing Act of 1937 is "to promote the general welfare of the Nation by employing its funds and credit . . . to assist the several States and their political subdivisions to alleviate present and recurring unemployment and to remedy the unsafe and insanitary housing conditions and the acute shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low income, in rural and urban communities, that are injurious to the health, safety, and morals of the citizens of the Nation." In *The Law of Public*

Housing, the fifth work in a five-book economy shelf, the backbone chapters III and IV reveal the give-and-take of the law, both Federal and State. Extracts from leading cases, two of them detailed in the Appendix, are set forth interestingly even for the layman. The Appendix also reproduces the Act of 1937. The first two chapters sketch the sociological, economic, and political elements of the problem with a reminder that public housing in this country is only six years old; that New York City had restrictive legislation as early as 1867 (N. B. the quotation below); that Wisconsin was the first State to pass legislation favoring cooperative housing societies; and that public housing programs have not retarded residential building recovery. Is it the realist or the realtor who shouts: "Unfair and ruinous competition with private enterprise!" The fifth and last chapter brings in briefly some comparisons with public housing in European democracies where the program has combatted depression and aided in stabilizing business conditions.

In this book, which might be the last one dealt with in a study club series, a quotation from a leading case will bear emphasizing since it highlights a central point in the observations of most of the experts:

Legislation merely restrictive in its nature has failed because the [slum] evil inheres not so much in this or that individual structure as in the character of a whole neighborhood of dilapidated and unsanitary structures. . . . The cure is to be wrought not through the regulated ownership of the individual but through the ownership and operation by or under the direct control of the public itself. Nor is there anything novel in that. The modern city functions in the public interest as proprietor and operator of many activities formerly, and in some instances still, carried on by private enterprise. (*New York City Housing Authority v. Muller*. Court of Appeals of the State of New York; March 17, 1936. Quoted by Ebenstein in the Appendix.)

These five books answer many questions, spike many fallacies, and offer solid substance for study by serious-minded people. For young and old, principles and facts can displace hot-air castles and the unrealities of certain so-called realists; confidence can be established so that the "Can America?" type of question will transpose itself affirmatively in the American way.

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INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY. Second edition, revised.

By Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward.

Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1940. 863 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.

The authors of this volume have utilized their opportunity for revision by making significant changes. A new chapter on social organization which includes health, recreation and welfare agencies, has been added. Additions have been made to sections on collective behavior, personality, social interaction, and social change. One strong feature of the old edition, that dealing with culture origins, cultural variability and cultural accumulation, retains its position in the new. The text has been enlivened by bolder type, larger print, and by sixteen half-tone illustrations. The photographs of the League of Nations in session and of religious functionaries, educational groups, and housing are particularly vivid. Bibliographies have been brought up to date and in all about one hundred pages have been added to what constituted textual matter in the old edition.

A marked note is the great concern about what is happening in our world—almost a religious viewpoint—at least a strong valuational emphasis on democracy, progress, and mental hygiene. The different religious cults and sects are treated quite fully for an introductory text. Likewise, in dealing with the

subject of social change a healthy skepticism is tempered by a responsible attitude. The fact of war, unemployment, and strife do not, in the opinion of these authors, prove that historic religions have failed any more than they indicate failure of all social institutions. Social disorganization (p. 741) is regarded not as a malady but as a natural process. And their answer to the subject of success or failure involves the interrelation of all social institutions. Religious institutions, like educational or economic, are neither object nor subject of social control, but parts of an on-going society. It is difficult to point to any institution as the central one.

With reference to the culture lag hypothesis, to which the authors give considerable deference, they are more inclined to point to what they call its oversimplification than to point to the profound gaps between social intelligence and control in the interest of welfare and human capacity for destruction through mechanical and scientific agencies. To these sociologists, democracy looks much better than dictatorship because no society can live by orthodoxy. It lives by originality and by planning (p. 520).

Students and teachers who use this book as a text can feel assured that they are being introduced to contemporary social thinking, including the final challenge that mankind must end war or war will destroy man. The authors say, "Man must master the problem of organizing a dynamic society on a regional and world basis or else go back to primitivity."

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POPULATION, A PROBLEM FOR DEMOCRACY. By Gunnar Myrdal. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. 237 pp. \$2.00.

This small volume of Harvard's Godkin lectures, delivered in 1938 by a distin-

guished Swedish economist, is unique among recent books on population. For one thing, taking for granted the facts and statistical analyses so dear to our demographers, the book is all on the side of interpretation. More strangely for an economist, Myrdal makes population the end and goal rather than an intrusive and dynamic factor in economic analysis. Because of this, portions of the book read like the writings of the family sociologists in this country. The answer is easy, however. This is a book on policy. Myrdal is not interested in the type of objectivity often maintained by our social scientists.

Myrdal writes as an exponent of the grand tradition in political economy, but his question is how to conserve the population of nations—not how to increase their wealth. He makes use of Swedish experience to show how the populations of democracies will soon cease to replenish themselves unless the costs of child rearing are socialized. Even then Myrdal rightly has his doubts, for as the burden of replenishing the population is lifted from the lower classes by the spread of birth control, there is no certainty that the upper classes will raise their net reproduction. Economic considerations are not all inclusive in this field; and unlike the dictatorships, the democracies should make no attempt to invade the private lives of their citizens. If child rearing makes no contribution to their personal happiness, citizens, Myrdal admits, owe no duty to the state to replace the population. Again the democracies would appear inept, were it not for the feeling that neither German nor Italian population policies have raised their birth rates.

Nothing is said of the effect of war on fertility and replacements, and the Swedish population policy is sketched only

in its barest details. The ultimate costs of redistribution in kind, housing, lunches for school children, social services for mothers, etc., are admittedly great, but much of this cost, Myrdal feels, can be written off in connection with the agricultural and housing budgets or incorporated with the program of depression spending as adopted in Sweden. The whole tone of the book while liberal and reformist is decidedly depressing. If we have come to a stagnant economy, the program itself seems impossible and a stationary population hopeless of attainment. While under such conditions the pressure toward socialism might be great, socialism would have the unhappy task of liquidating a dead and cold economy. More than once in the reading this reviewer felt in the background—not the Swedish population budget—but the dying closes of Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes*. For the European democracies the war has hastened the downward spiral in population. For Sweden it will mean, no doubt, the abandonment of the population program.

RUPERT B. VANCE

University of North Carolina.

INTRODUCTION TO MEDICAL BIOMETRY AND STATISTICS.

Third edition, revised and enlarged. By Raymond Pearl. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1940. 537 pp. \$7.00. Illustrated.

For those sociologists whose research fields include vital statistics this text offers excellent supplementation to the more comprehensive and general texts on social statistics. Nonmedical students should not be frightened away by the adjective "medical" in the title, for the methods and illustrations in the text are taken almost altogether from the field of vital statistics. Particularly for those who have had no experience with the actual collection of such material is

Pearl's critical evaluation of the raw data of biostatistics recommended.

It is regrettable that the book was not brought up to date so thoroughly in developments in statistical theory and interpretation as in content of illustrations. Like many other seasoned scholars, Pearl would not relinquish "probable error," even though such a classicist as Yule has recommended "the student to eschew it." While for certain uses the choice of probable or standard error may be merely a matter of preference, there is often associated with the choice of the former an erroneous interpretation of its meaning. Such an interpretation is to be found on page 18 of Pearl's text, where the use of confidence or fiducial limits with their correct interpretation would have greatly enhanced the otherwise excellent section on *The Nature of Statistical Knowledge*.

To an unusual degree for a book on statistical methods the author's personality pervades the text, being manifested in style, in vocabulary, and occasionally in almost extraneous comments. Since sociologists who share with biologists the research field here treated are likely to have a different orientation in social values, they may object to the implications of such comments as the following, "Indeed a curious illumination is thrown upon the complexity of human social phenomena when, at the same time that the mean age at death was increasing at an *average rate* of more than half a year per year, large and extremely vocal groups were loudly wailing that the American populace was receiving extremely inadequate medical care." (p. 207)

It is because of the author's long and rich experience in this particular field of application of statistical methods that the book is of especial value. First-hand familiarity with the problems, with

the battery of techniques available for attacking them, and with the results of past researches into them made by himself and others gave Pearl an unquestioned advantage in writing authoritatively on biometry. No one who wishes to engage in this field of research—biologist, physician, or sociologist—can safely neglect this most recent treatise on methods by the late dean of biometrists.

MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD

University of North Carolina

THE PRISON COMMUNITY. By Donald Clemmer.
Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1940.
341 pp. \$4.00.

The merit of this readable volume is its intimate analysis of the sociological influences of prison life upon the 2300 inmates confined in a typical American State penitentiary. Its inhabitants do not represent the ultra-urbanized prisoners of Sing Sing or Joliet, nor do they live in the modern spick-and-span inclosures of Stateville or Jackson, nor do they enjoy the enlightened privileges of Lewisburg or Annandale. On the other hand, its successive administrations have never been so inept as to engender a prison riot nor so abusive as to provoke a newspaper scandal. The history of its administration has been comparatively uneventful. If it were not handicapped by the prevalent prison problems of largeness and overcrowding, its atmosphere might have become easygoing and even friendly, as in certain of the small Western penitentiaries. Because this volume thus describes so typical an American prison it is somewhat unique in penological literature.

The author is a trained sociologist and criminologist who has been for almost ten years on the staffs of the Classification Board and Mental Health Office of the Illinois State prison system. Several

hours each working day over a period of years spent in private and sympathetic conversations with thousands of prisoners plus a period as coach of the prison's football team, together with the specific aim of understanding how the prison "culture"—as the sociologists use the term—impinges upon prisoners and affects their behavior, has yielded a wealth of material. The methodology has employed statistical comparisons, case studies, questionnaires and attitude scales, inmates' autobiographies, and essays written upon a variety of pertinent themes, e.g., "The Monotony of Prison Life," "Learning the Ropes," "Incidents of Kindness by Guards," "Description of My Work Gang," etc.

Three introductory chapters describe the human material as it enters into its new circumscribed life, and the man-made equipment and routine which will determine so largely its next years of existence. Little is said about causation of crime since that is already abundantly treated by other writers who are cited in the bibliographical footnotes.

The thesis of this volume is worked out in the succeeding nine chapters. The discussion in these chapters leads to the concept of *prisonization*. No suggestion is made that the extent of prisonization *per se* is highly correlated with the extent of criminality since it is possible for an inmate to remain unintegrated into the prison culture and yet continue to be criminalistic. The danger is that extensive prisonization with its acceptance of an inferior role and the acquiring of new habits of eating, dressing, working, or language may so disrupt the personality that a happy adaptation to normal community life becomes almost impossible. Factors retarding or counteracting the prisonization process are (1) a short sentence, (2) a stable person-

ality well "socialized" during pre-penal life, (3) the continuation of positive relationships with persons outside the walls, (4) lack of integration into a prison primary or semi-primary (social) group, (5) refusal to accept blindly the dogmas and codes of the prison population, (6) a chance placement with fellow prisoners who are not prison "leaders" and not themselves integrated into the prison culture, and (7) refraining from prison vices such as gambling and homosexuality, and participating willingly in work and recreational activities (p. 310). Thus, paradoxically enough, the well-intentioned prisoner must not become socially integrated into his new group though they are crowded closely together within high stone walls and heavy iron bars, but must in spite of these obstacles maintain his positive relationships and identification with the noncriminal world outside.

Does this closely circumscribed and "regimented" life produce a prison community with solidarity and group loyalties among criminals as so many criminologists have previously written? Clemmer's study leads him to conclude otherwise. The bewilderment, confusion, and conflict so prevalent in our contemporary civilization are perhaps intensified and not diminished in that portion of our society which is confined in our prisons. To quote the author, "... while no persistent effort has been made to compare the penal community with the free community, certain broad similarities become evident. In a sense, the prison culture reflects the American culture, for it is a culture within it..." (p. 298).

LUTON ACKERSON

New York University

RUSSIA THROUGH THE AGES. FROM THE SCYTHIANS TO THE SOVIETS. By Stuart Ramsay Tompkins.

New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. 799 pp. \$6.00. Illustrated.

CHURCH AND STATE IN RUSSIA. THE LAST YEARS OF THE EMPIRE, 1900-1917. By John Shelton Curtiss. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. 442 pp. \$4.00.

For folk sociologists these volumes will prove useful as storehouses of material on the stateways in one of the most interesting cultures of the modern world. Dr. Tompkins, in what is essentially a very compact outline of the political and military history of Russia, defends the thesis of the friends of Western Civilization (*Zapadniki*), as opposed to the Slavophile proponents of a distinct Russian folk culture. He attempts to tell the story of Russia "as though it were essentially a western country," putting historical events in their European setting, where he is convinced that they belong. After a brief introduction, the core of the book consists of an almost tabular summary of the lives of the Tsars from Ivan the Terrible to the last of the Romanovs, as shown in their political and military deeds and policies. Overwhelming evidence is given to show that many rulers of Russia have represented western civilization in point of view and often in person. As for the folk, Dr. Tompkins quotes with apparent approval Mannstein's observation that "the only thing the Russian understood was force, and the fear of punishment [was] the only motive by which he regulated his conduct." The last hundred pages of the book, devoted to cultural life, the church, and the Soviet State, barely hint at that struggle between the stateways (backed by western technology) and the ancient folkways, which furnishes some of the most interesting sociological material of our time.

The book has a glossary, a very handy chronological table of Russian history and an excellent bibliography. As a text for college students, it is rather on

the side of the old-fashioned school text, with its emphasis on rulers, politics, war, and dates rather than the folk and culture. It is to be regretted that the color inevitably lost in such a compact account of the sweep of Russian history was not put back to some extent by means of illustrations. Those familiar with the historical paintings of the Tretyakov Gallery and the work done by some Soviet motion picture producers will wonder at the choice of rather drab contemporary photographs. As a compendium of information on stateways, however, the book is a useful reference work for folk sociologists interested in Russian material.

Dr. Curtiss' monograph covers very ably and impartially the stateways of church and autocracy during the final period of disintegration, dealing chiefly with the political and economic relations between church and state. A vivid opening chapter outlines church history to 1900. Against this background, the church is presented as a far-reaching arm of the autocracy at the beginning of the twentieth century. For those Americans who are accustomed to think of present-day Russia as born out of a historical vacuum in October, 1917, the chapters on liberalism and conservatism among the clergy during the Revolution of 1905 should be very enlightening. In the brief interval between Revolution and war the opportunity of the liberals to narrow the gap between the needs of the people and the purposes of church and state was lost. The almost incredible sway of Rasputin helped at once to undermine the control of the church, the state, and the ancient folkways of religious life, so deeply rooted in the Russian people. It is disappointing that the book closes on the rather hackneyed theme of Rasputin in a chapter which is not quite up to the rest of the book in scholarly

treatment. The fine bibliography will unfortunately be of little use to sociologists who cannot read Russian, although there are half a dozen useful English titles. As an exhibit of the interaction of stateways and folkways, this type of social history makes a valuable contribution to the data of folk sociology.

ALICE DAVIS

University of North Carolina

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF GERMANY FROM WILLIAM II TO HITLER, 1888-1938. By W. F. Bruck. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1938. 12/6.

FASCIST ITALY. By William Ebenstein. Cincinnati: American Book Company, 1939. 310 pp. \$2.50.

These volumes throw light on two of the most widely discussed political and social philosophies of our day, but in rather different ways. Dr. Ebenstein treats only the Fascist period of Italian life, while the greater part of Dr. Bruck's study deals with the economic evolution of Germany prior to the establishment of the Third Reich.

Dr. Bruck states at the outset that economic history at its best is far more than a mere description of events; it is an ordering of the facts in terms of a theoretical conception. The opening chapter, embracing more than one-fourth of the volume, deals almost entirely with ideas and forces that lie back of twentieth century German economy. Mercantilism is seen as the keynote of Prusso-German economic evolution, and the source of state socialism. But mercantilism was cut to the pattern of the Prussian state. In this connection the author shows that economic phenomena are deeply tied in with ethical, political, and social facts.

In discussing the economic development of Germany since the beginning of the reign of William II, Dr. Bruck takes great pains in explaining the nature and workings of Finance Capitalism, which

lies at the foundation of the rapid industrial and commercial development of pre-war Germany. But the significance of political and psychological factors, such as national prestige and the Great Power concept, are not overlooked. The author sees the economic program of the Third Reich, if a few ideological points (such as race) are ignored, as a logical development of the forms of Imperial and Republican Germany. A strong tendency toward socialist planned economy is noted.

The reviewer is of the opinion that Dr. Bruck places rather too much emphasis on Finance Capitalism throughout the book, and fails to give sufficient weight to such problems as racism and rearmament in his analysis of Hitler's Reich. But, however that may be, this is a book of profound learning, and the reader who wades through it will be rewarded.

Professor Ebenstein's *Fascist Italy* is a clear and comprehensive summary of the chief economic, political, and social factors in Italian life since the first great war of this century. The author has succeeded admirably in cutting through official literature and legal forms to the realities of the situation. But that does not mean that it is an unsympathetic appraisal of the Italian situation; in several places Mussolini seems to get the benefit of the doubt. Of the ten chapters in this book, two are concerned with the rise of Fascism and its conquest of power; the remaining eight deal with such problems as justice, propaganda, education, religion, population, the corporate state, agriculture, foreign policy, and the quest for empire. The author rejects Mussolini's contention that Fascism represents something novel in society and politics. He believes that "corporatism essentially means a war-economy on a permanent

basis," and that the innovation which Fascism introduces consists largely in the extension of war-time controls to peacetime conditions. He believes that the facts show pretty conclusively that financial and economic conditions have grown worse under Fascist rule, and that living standards have been seriously impaired.

This volume is adequately documented, possesses a select bibliography, and has a good index. It is clearly and interestingly written, and the reviewer feels that there is no better summary of the chief elements of Italian Fascism. The general reader need have no fears for he can handle it without difficulty.

C. H. PEGG

University of North Carolina

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP. THE POLITICAL RELATIONS OF CONGRESS AND THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE. By Pendleton Herring. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1940. 173 pp. \$1.00.

This small volume is an analytical and historical review of the relations between President and Congress oriented around the problem of presidential leadership of and control over Congress. The elements of the analysis are generally familiar to students in the field: the national constituency of the President against the localism of members of Congress; the lack of effective presidential or congressional party discipline; the baleful influence of seniority on congressional committees; the message, the veto, patronage, and appeals to the voters as techniques of presidential control; senatorial courtesy, congressional blocs, filibusters and other obstructional tactics, log-rolling, and other devices for resisting or overcoming or ignoring presidential policy.

Various proposals for change are examined: presidential power to dissolve the House of Representatives; item veto; cabinet members having seats in Congress;

a congressional legislative council; the conscious development and practice of cooperative techniques. Save for the last, Professor Herring's discussion of these proposals is rather inconclusive. He gives, it seems to me, too little attention to the budget in the relations of President and Congress. Also, while it is possible to over-emphasize the economic, I think Professor Herring's analysis suffers from insufficient probing of the economic bases of presidential-congressional politics.

On the whole, the volume is intelligently informative. It complements Harold Laski's recent book on the same subject. Significantly both writers assert that the talk of dictatorship in the present position of the President's office is foolish. Professor Herring says: "To talk of dictatorship is ridiculous in view of the struggles that our presidents have had with Congress in bringing about the relative degree of leadership that has been secured." If dictatorship comes, it is more likely to do so because the government cannot act effectively than because the President has been given ample powers of executive leadership.

HARVEY PINNEY

New York University

CIVIL SERVICE IN PUBLIC WELFARE. By Alice Campbell Klein. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. 444 pp. \$2.25.

Public welfare used as a term to designate a group of the social services of the State is new. It was first officially so used in the laws of a State by North Carolina, followed within a few days by Illinois, in 1917. By 1930 many states had adopted the term. Half a dozen or more states had enacted legislation making possible an integrated program of state and local public welfare services, and had made some progress by organizing a few local units. Three states had fairly well

organized state-wide programs with local units for the administration of some forms of assistance or services to communities, or individuals, or both. One of these three states was attempting a general program of public welfare offering many types of services. One was organized as a department of child welfare and was giving primary attention to services to children. The third was also emphasizing child welfare with primary attention to the enforcement of a single law in this field. Then the Federal emergency relief programs came in rapid succession. Public welfare programs were overshadowed and demoralized. In one of the three states the statewide child welfare program practically disappeared. Then Congress passed the Social Security Act. The Federal Government entered the field of permanent public welfare services. It did not, however, set up a well-rounded department of public welfare. The promotion of its program of public assistance threw the public welfare programs of the better organized states distressingly out of balance. In the states where there had been little organization, public welfare or public assistance departments developed almost overnight. Large staffs were created or existing staffs greatly increased.

Congress, rightly sensing the dangers in this situation, amended the law to provide for the employment of personnel under civil service regulations. Such a move was disturbing both to those who are adherents to the Spoils System and to many who thoroughly approved the act. The latter were disturbed because they did not know just how civil service procedures could be successfully applied to social work. Apparently no one knew. We had not tried it on large scale before. Did the Social Security Board know? If they did not know, did they know that they did not know?

Among the sources to which those who were seeking information turned was the Russell Sage Foundation. "The pathetic faith which the questioners displayed in the resources of an institution like the Russell Sage Foundation," writes Miss Colcord in the Foreword, "was not in this case justified. We were unable, owing to the lack of any definite studies and non-technical compilations, to give an opinion ourselves or to refer our inquirers to other published sources." It was decided to supply the need for such a study and Mrs. Alice Campbell Klein was selected for the task.

Mrs. Klein had not had long first-hand acquaintance with the field of public welfare, but she did know the problems of placement. Perhaps the absence of the peculiar bias of the public social worker was an asset. Both she and Miss Colcord at the beginning sound the keynote for the attitude of approach to this problem. Says the latter in her Foreword: "Throughout the volume Mrs. Klein has stressed the point that she was presenting the first word, and by no means the last word, on what is to social work a new and controversial field." And Mrs. Klein in her Introduction declares herself "a first-grade pupil" writing "a 'primer' for next year's entering class."

Part One of the book "is intended as a 'primer' of civil service history and practices." She traces tendencies in civil service; traces the growth of the merit system in the United States; points out some of the inroads upon the system—inadequate appropriations, exemptions, preference for special groups, residence restrictions; describes forms of organization; discusses classification of positions, recruitment, entrance requirements; deals with forms of examinations, types of written tests, oral examinations, evalua-

tion of background, and scoring and grading—a topic upon which the testing experts appear not to agree. She discusses the advantages and disadvantages of different forms of examination. She enumerates strengths and weaknesses of tests—perhaps not all the weaknesses of "objective" tests, especially the "true and false" type. Provisional and probationary employment; service ratings, promotion, and separation from service; in-service training; vocations; vocational guidance, receive attention.

Part Two of the book is entitled, *Where Social Work and Merit Systems Meet*. It is mainly a discussion of how the social worker may relate himself effectively to the various processes and procedures of a merit system explained in Part One. What follows is by no means all she says in this Part Two, but, it is perhaps the heart of her Summary. "If social work is to make a contribution toward improving the practice of personnel administration in public welfare, it must ally itself, both in spirit and in action, with the large body of citizens who are interested in the quality of total public service, and must understand what methods are most effectively used toward this end. . . . Progressive public officials and students of government agree that despite its obvious shortcomings, an honest, liberal, and constructive civil service system is the best medium we have for improving the quality of public service."

The social worker working with other progressive citizens can help to make civil service honest; working with personnel and testing experts, he can help to improve examinations and selection procedures.

ROY M. BROWN

University of North Carolina

INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY OF NORTHWESTERN ALABAMA. By Herman Frederick Otte. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. 177 pp. \$2.25.

This book achieves two useful purposes. In the first place it is a thorough, compact survey of the industrial status, resources and prospects of a small region. The seven counties in northwest Alabama, including the industrial centers of Huntsville, Decatur, and Florence-Sheffield-Tuscumbia, are a part of that greater region, the Tennessee Valley, and share its resources and possibilities. And yet they constitute a unit because of their similarity in a history of dominance of plantation economy, spurts of industrial ambitions and collapsed booms; because of their resources which, though considerable, lack the uniqueness that makes for concentrated and specialized industry. They constitute a unit, too, in being a sort of island, a neutral zone with all about them drawn toward the greater cities at the four points of the compass—Nashville, Chattanooga, Birmingham, and Memphis. The study should be useful to the region concerned because of its clear analysis and frank appraisal of the strong and weak factors of the area. By the same token, it should be useful to other areas with similar resources.

In the second place, the study provides an excellent pattern for regional study: delimitation of a real subregion; a nice balance between dependence on field work and on library material; logical presentation of pertinent background, present status of industry, resources and raw materials, markets, the human factor, and prospects. Maps, charts and tables add to the clearness. The footnotes contain so much besides mere documentation that the attention of the conscien-

tious, or curious, reader is often diverted from the main discussion.

HARRIET L. HERRING

University of North Carolina

CHILD WELFARE IN GERMANY BEFORE AND AFTER NAZIISM. By Walter Friedlander and Earl Dewey Myers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940. 273 pp. \$1.50.

Public welfare practice in the United States is generally conceded to be quite definitely in its infancy, or, at best, just trembling at the threshold of pubescence; hence, this objective and yet sympathetic account of Germany's experiences in such a respectable field as child welfare will be eagerly received by those whose lot it is to soften the impact of our socio-economic system upon the more helpless segments of the population. With commendable restraint, the authors of this sober little book describe the inception and diffusion of child welfare work in Germany, from the beginning of this century to the latest innovations in the National Socialist "total" welfare program.

A glance at some of the topics covered will indicate the relevance of the discussion to our own contemporary problems of public policy in this field: dependency, illegitimacy, correctional education, juvenile delinquency, child labor, unemployment of youth, the youth movement, and physical training are sample chapter headings. It is hardly necessary to add that as the "national emergency" mounts in seriousness, many of these problems are likely to receive increasingly careful scrutiny from state and particularly Federal authorities. It is unfortunate that it takes the threat of war to awaken us to the shocking inadequacy of child care and training programs in this country.

The book could hardly be called a contribution to sociological knowledge. It is completely innocent of conceptual or theoretical orientation; hence we have

no clues whatever as to the real meaning of the events which the authors so faithfully record. We have no way of estimating the probability that such patterns will occur in this country; indeed, there is no mention of patterns, or recurrence, or prediction. The method, if any exists, is sterile, static, historical. The youth movement—which is the reviewer's private hobby and which, in Germany, was a rather astounding phenomenon—is dismissed with a shrug, and worse than that, is only casually related to child welfare work—a serious error. The bibliography is excellent.

The book is good or bad, depending upon what one seeks in it. Social workers will like it; sociologists may ignore it.

ROBERT SCHMID

Vanderbilt University

SOCIAL CASE WORK WITH CHILDREN. STUDIES IN STRUCTURE AND PROCESS. Edited by Jessie Taft. The Journal of Social Work Process, Volume III, Number 1. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania School of Social Work, December 1939. 237 pp. \$2.00 cloth; \$1.00 paper. Postpaid.

One of the most pointed contributions of this book is the feel of situations put into words, when the adult, student, or practiced worker attempts to help children through strategic times of experience and change. Volume III of "Case Work With Children" is largely an analysis of what is happening to the child who is the recipient of care from various kinds of social agencies. The delicate awareness of him who does, on behalf of him for whom it is done, is ever present. The accompanying feeling which goes with procedure is accepted as being as much the gist of the activity as are the tangibles of children, agency, and worker.

The clear thinking and delineation of the multiple activities in these fields of case work with children are further helped by the nice appreciation of the

values, levels, and the areas of relationships essential in the processes—a concept which is possible only if fostered by a truly professional attitude toward the job. In addition there is emphatic recognition that the child, in his activity, in his response to change, is a continuously affecting factor. Success and failure in placing children in the past were apt to be explained in terms of the worker's personal efforts, well or poorly performed. Coupled with the foregoing we now acknowledge with certainty that the child will contribute, reject, or take from his situation that which he can utilize for growth and change.

The importance of the full use of the present moment in contacts of the worker with the child is stressed and the sensitivity of handling required in problems of child placement, repeatedly acknowledged. These are tools to an end and procedures which can be developed quite apart from the material equipment of any agency.

The need for the child placing agency to handle, through its workers, the complicated relationship of agency, own parent, foster parent and child is clearly acknowledged. This recognition stresses a type of activity from him who does case work with children, which calls for all that he possesses of strength, delicacy, and clear thinking. The recognition of the importance of such intangibles as flexible attitude, possibilities for growth and change, accompanied by a clear picture of how the different areas of responsibility are shared by this group of participants is painstakingly analyzed.

The discussion and recognition of adoption as a social process and not a simple act, is indeed timely, and the justification of the deliberate, objective consideration given by good social agencies, to this question, is understandingly upheld.

Two later articles emphasize child placing in relation to the community, particularly at the present time where the public agency is taking over so much of what was once shared with the private agency. The need for the public agency to be aware that more than mere maintenance of a child is necessary is well taken. Service has tended to be the contribution of private agency yet it is essential that the public incorporate this also in its program. The question is raised as to whether, in order to achieve this end, a wise use of experienced lay persons serving as an advisory committee is not essential. Such a committee of informed, responsible citizenry could conceivably see to it that public work for children be professionally performed and at all times include more than the bare minimum of maintenance. Without some such protection might there not be disconcerting answers to the question asked of the public agency, "How are our children cared for?"

SARAH H. SPENCER

*Child Welfare Services, Orange Co., N. C.,
Department of Public Welfare*

DE SVENSKA PRIVATANSTÄLLDA: EN SOCIOLOGISKE STUDIE. (THE SWEDISH NON-MANUAL WORKERS). By Fritz Croner. Stockholm: Kooperativa Förbundets Bokförlag, 1939. 474 pp. Kronor 12.

This thorough-going study of the non-manual workers outside of government service in Sweden for the year 1936 was conducted under the auspices of the Statistical Institute of the University of Lund. The directors proposed to investigate the development and the present conditions of the group in order to understand its position in the total social structure. The data were assembled by means of a four-page schedule of which 7,726 copies of a total of 38,000 were returned. The principal occupational groups considered were: executives, fore-

men, engineers and other technicians, office workers, druggists, store and warehouse employees, watchmen, and messengers.

The Introduction and Part I are devoted to a discussion of the aims and a critical analysis of the methods employed. The economic conditions of the several occupational groups are given a detailed statistical analysis in Part II. Wages are studied with reference to marital status, age, length of service, geographic areas, cost-of-living regions, size of establishment, education, mobility, foreign residence, trends in wages in certain groups, hours of work as related to the above categories, overtime and holiday work, labor contracts, vacations, payment of wages during illness, conditions relative to dismissal, and pension provisions. This is followed by a discussion of private insurance and additional incomes secured outside the regular employment. Part III treats of the social conditions, such as education, social antecedents of these workers, the occupations of siblings, "social circulation," education and occupations of children, employment of wives, and income in relation to dependents. Part IV is devoted to certain demographic data relative to marital status, age at marriage, and the size of families. Part V presents a number of illustrative case histories each of which is accompanied by a graphic profile. Part VI brings the study to a close with a summary discussion of the economic and social problems brought to light. In the presentation of the data, 123 graphs and 111 tables are used.

On the basis of the assembled facts, the author concludes that *insecurity* looms large in this group. Changes coming with the development of large-scale industry have made for impersonal relationships and upwards of 80 percent of the

workers may be dismissed on a month's notice. Unemployment has become increasingly serious. As the various industrial processes have become more simplified and mechanized, young unskilled men crowd out older and better trained workers. The pension system is inadequate to meet the needs. The uncertainty leads to postponement of marriage and a low birthrate. The chaotic and unsatisfactory situation is due in considerable measure to the fact that the white-collared group has no strong organizations. Until recent decades wage-earning was used as a stepping-stone to the independent status of an entrepreneur, but now that is all but impossible. The white-collared group now has much in common with manual workers and they are developing into a social class side by side with the laborers, even though functionally they are closer to the management. Labor is well organized and if the nonmanual workers join them, they will be a powerless minority. The white-collared group will have to develop its own organizations and solve its own problems if it is to gain a satisfactory status in the Swedish social structure.

It is interesting to note the democratizing influence of this occupational group. Recruits are drawn from all classes of society. Class lines are not rigidly fixed and one from a comparatively humble background can rise to a much higher status by taking advantage of the available educational facilities.

This monograph should be of value both as a source of information for comparative studies and for its methods of analysis and presentation. It is not merely a collection of statistical data, but an analysis based on sound sociological interpretations.

WILLIAM C. SMITH

Linfield College

STATESMEN OF THE LOST CAUSE: JEFFERSON DAVIS AND HIS CABINET. By Burton J. Hendrick. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1939. 452 pp. \$3.75.

Hendrick's significant book—on which judgment will be rendered by the historians—is important also to the study of southern leadership. One might hold, after reading Hendrick, that the Civil War rather than Reconstruction and Redemption began the degradation of politics in the South. Brilliant before the conflict, southern political leadership, in contrast to her military leadership, began its downward course in the conduct of the War—a course which unfortunately has continued in the region. When Hendrick emphasizes the disintegrating influence of states rights doctrines, he more than implies that they often represented *derivations* in which were concealed the *residues* of personal and factional pique as in the relations of Toombs and Davis. Personal and factional politics represent no new thing, but they have long continued as an element in the southern scene.

More significant is Hendrick's suggestion that in its civil government the Confederacy was led by its new rich middle class and plebians rather than by its aristocracy. If the aristocratic hotheads brought on the War, the newly risen classes conducted its civil course and lost it. Some of the governors and cabinet members from these groups, especially Brown, Vance, and Stephens, remained Unionist or states rights men and interposed every obstacle in the way of organization needed to prosecute the war. If accepted in its implications, this theory would antedate by several decades the degradation of southern politics in the rise of the common man after Reconstruction.

Historians may disagree with Hendrick as to the possibility of shipping cotton

to Europe before the blockade in order that it might serve as the basis of currency. Others may object to the retelling of the South's diplomatic history, already well known. None will deny that the book is a brilliant contribution. As always, Hendrick's characterizations and pen portraits are done with vivid, incisive strokes. Social history is given its due influence and economic considerations are held to the fore.

RUPERT B. VANCE

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CARDOZO AND FRONTIERS OF LEGAL THINKING. WITH SELECTED OPINIONS. By Beryl Harold Levy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. 315 pp. \$2.50.

Cardozo is almost the Horatio Alger of the law. As a boy he read the Alger stories. His rise on the bench was as meteoric as the newsboy to corporation president fable could desire. His influence on the law, on the reputation of the New York Court of Appeals, on lawyers and judges of other states, is amply demonstrated. An analysis of the philosophical and methodological foundation of this influence is therefore highly appropriate.

Mr. Levy contributes 120 pages of enlightening introductory material which, besides sketching Cardozo's career, treats analytically certain major problems of the law and sets forth what the author thinks is Cardozo's contribution. Mr. Levy looks upon Cardozo as an "eminent pioneer of the 'realist' movement in law." He also illustrates and approves Cardozo's frankness with regard to the judicial process—how judges reach decisions and how they explain the decision reached. In Cardozo the "inarticulate major premises" become more articulate and more explicit than ever before. But Cardozo's realism, his recognition of the relation of philosophy and ethics to the judicial

process, is not unrestrained. Mr. Levy calls his position "radical conservatism" — "conservatism in the sense of conserving what criticism reveals as good; radical because in the pristine sense of the word, it seeks to go to the roots." In this section, the author deals with Cardozo in *Contemporary Jurisprudence*, *Doing Justice*, and *The Judge as Artist*. Mr. Levy gives not only an exposition of Cardozo's jurisprudence, but sets it in the general frame of ideas of the "realist" school. He is not an uncritical adulator.

The latter part of the volume is made up of selections from Cardozo's opinions—all New York cases save one United States Supreme Court opinion sustaining portions of the Social Security Act. The lay reader will find the reading of these opinions much less satisfying than Mr. Levy's introduction. While they reveal the pursuit of justice with a realistic intent not to overstrain the existing structure of the law, they may create in the layman an irritation at what seem to be too finely spun theories, too heavily labored arguments. The first case, for example, is on torts and the dissent is printed for the sake of contrast. A woman, injured while on the premises of the Long Island Railroad, had sued the road for damages. If the facts stated are complete, the incident could be described as one of almost pure and unforeseen accident. Both judges spin diaphanous webs of philosophical and legal arguments, Cardozo concluding against the plaintiff. Neither of them so much as hinted at the possibility that a public utility should be responsible on a rough actuarial basis for accidents occurring in the course of its operations where no culpable negligence is evident—something on the principle of the French theory of public responsibility for damages caused by public action.

Other opinions do not exhibit this characteristic so strongly. They are chosen to cover most of the categories of private law, this being possible because of the practice of the New York Court of Appeals in assigning cases in rotation.

The book is a useful volume for those interested in jurisprudence as well as for those desiring to know more about Cardozo and his methods.

HARVEY PINNEY

New York University

THE STRUCTURE AND GROWTH OF RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOODS IN AMERICAN CITIES. By HOMER HOYT. Washington: Federal Housing Administration, 1939. 178 pp. \$1.50. Illustrated.

This monograph, refining the techniques of earlier real property surveys, has two principal objectives: "furnishing the tools for analysis and developing principles of general application that may be used in the intelligent examination of the internal structure and growth of American cities."

Sixty-four representative American cities, a backbone list, together with other selected listings of cities are mapped and charted in connection with land coverage and use; with respect to block data and housing, age of structures, pattern of ownership and rents, state of repair and equipment, overcrowding, ethnic characteristics, and other aspects of the land-and-housing problem in the city. Tabular breakdowns afford interesting comparisons by percentages from city to city (every state and region is represented) on such details as tenant or owner occupancy, residential valuations, and rental costs. The real property inventories and housing surveys that recently have been under way and completed in scores of our cities have utilized most of the technical devices explained and illustrated in this volume.

Throughout the monograph the illustrative materials are models of careful workmanship and clarity except for three or four cities where land survey map reproductions have been so greatly reduced as to have only squint-value.

The sociologist will find of particular value the treatment of city and neighborhood growth, Part II. The concentric-zone pattern of the city receives critical appraisal: "The concentric circle theory of land use recognizes the tendencies of workingmen's homes to be near the factories. However, as factories do not form a concentric circle around the central

business district, so neither do the workingmen's homes encircle the central core of the city" (p. 23). Thus, this theory zone by zone is looked upon as too simple a pattern; "while convenient as starting hypothesis, . . . it is subject to modification."

The monograph is needed on the shelf of those students of the community who stress the research and applied aspects of change and growth, and particularly is it of value for those who concern themselves with housing.

LEE M. BROOKS

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- CRITERIA FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PUBLIC JUNIOR COLLEGES IN KENTUCKY.** By Henry Albert Adams. Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky, 1940. 156 pp. \$0.50.
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